Space in the Medieval West

Madeline, Fanny; Cohen, Meredith;

VISIT...

EDITED BY

MEREDITH COHEN AND FANNY MADELINE

ROUTLEDGE

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Places, Territories and Imagined Geographies

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interest in spatiality is quite by accident.

Acknowledgments

Anthologies are the product of a collaborative group effort, which in this case began with a symposium organized by the International Medieval Society of Paris (IMS-Paris) in conjunction with the Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris (LAMOP) on the theme of "space" at the École Normale Supérieure de Paris (ENS-Paris) from June 26–29, 2009. Many people stepped forward to make both the conference and this anthology possible.

The editors would like to thank Dominique Iogna-Prat for his leadership in realizing the ongoing official association between the IMS-Paris and the LAMOP, and for LAMOP's generous support of the IMS-Paris's Annual Symposium. We would also like to thank François Ménant for generously providing the space at the legendary ENS-Paris in which the Symposium was held. Apart from this publication, many ongoing international academic exchanges and connections were made during those three beautiful and enriching days in Paris.

For the realization of this anthology, the editors would like to thank the contributors for their persistence, patience, and most of all their scholarship. Half of the chapters in this volume were translated from French to English in order to make the innovative and exciting work of our European contributors more accessible to Anglophone readers. For the translations, we are very grateful for the goodwill of Robert Bork and Emanuele Lugli (two of our contributors), as well as to Katherine Bork and Raeleen Chai-Elsholz, each of whom applied their technical expertise of French in the translation of these sophisticated texts. Finally, we would like to thank Emily Yates, the Commissioning Editor at Ashgate, the editorial team at Ashgate, and the anonymous readers of this book for their support of and contributions to this book.

List of Abbreviations

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historia

PL Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1841–64)

Introduction

Meredith Cohen, Fanny Madeline, and Dominique Iogna-Prat

In addressing the concept of space, this volume participates in the recent "spatial turn" in the humanities.[1] In the last two decades, research on spatial paradigms and practices has gained momentum across disciplines and vastly different periods, including the field of medieval studies. Responding to this current, the chapters collected here were developed from papers presented at a three-day symposium on the theme of space organized by the International Medieval Society of Paris in collaboration with the Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris (LAMOP) of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne. The conference provided a venue for an interdisciplinary discussion of this theme among international scholars. The aim of the symposium was to delineate the principal axes of thought currently animating research on space in the Middle Ages. We hoped that by examining a range of approaches, we would generate new ideas about how medieval space was defined, constructed, and practiced in medieval Europe. The resulting collection does not only bring new insight into these questions, but it also situates medieval constructions of space in relation to contemporary conceptions of the subject. The chapters in this volume reveal that medieval space existed as a complex relational entity defined by the interaction of historical precedent and new social practices. The past in practice and in theory conditioned changing conceptions of space as they were forged anew over the course of the Middle Ages.

The majority of the chapters address medieval France although it was not our specific intention to attempt to establish or define a concept of space based on current national boundaries. However, the concentration on this geographical area allows for some comparison of the similarities as well as the subtle differences within a geographical region, even if the broader medieval Western concept of space was not linguistically or culturally specific, as reiterated by the chapters in the volume that lie beyond this framework. Medieval space in the West

was shaped by the shared experience of the slow collapse and transition of the Roman Empire, even if other major cultural distinctions existed among the different societies within this group. Rather, with the selection of international and multidisciplinary authors, we hoped to delineate a topography of medieval space from the broadly heterogeneous discourse that has arisen in recent years.

Space in Medieval Historiography

The study of space in the humanities began in the discipline of geography, which at its core examines questions concerning space, as opposed to history, which focuses on issues related to time. In geography, research on space was at first dominated by a scientific approach based on quantitative reasoning, and specifically how space could be measured, charted, and delimited. However, in the nineteenth century, European geographers began to describe space as a frame within which societies inscribe themselves. In fact, it was the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel who pioneered the study of space in terms of cultural history.[2] In this vein, the French school of geography came to be dominated by a rather determinist notion of space as *milieu*, as defined by the most influential French geographer of the end of the nineteenth century, Paul Vidal de la Blache.[3] These new theories extended the subject by bringing physical and natural space into consideration with social or cultural dispositions with an emphasis on how space conditioned society. They both associated geography with the social sciences, particularly anthropology and sociology, and thus brought the study of space into the purview of historians. From there, other fields, such as art history and literature, began to examine spatial conceptions and practices.

Space and History in the European Academy

By integrating Durkheimian sociology with history, Marc Bloch made the concept of space as a social construction fundamental in French historical studies. Building on those ideas and further inspired by the work of Vidal de la Blache, Fernand Braudel, a major figure in the study of space in French history, conceived of geography in new dynamic terms.[4] In the preface to his now classic work, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Braudel explained his approach as “a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man and his relationship to the environment” and reiterated, “I could not neglect this almost timeless history …

neither could I be satisfied with the traditional geographical introduction to history that often figures to little purpose at the beginning of so many books."[5] Geography was so central to Braudel's work that he progressively came to define his approach as *géohistoire*, a way of "understanding all the levels, all the thousands of levels, all the thousands of fragments of time in history."[6]

Through the initiatives of Bloch and Braudel, the association of space with society came to define one of the major themes in the early phase of the *Annales* school of history.[7] However, with the increasing interdisciplinarity in the historical discourse in the 1970s and the postmodern critiques of great paradigms, the study of geohistorical space over the *longue durée* lost momentum. In fact, in the three volumes consecrated to the new history edited by Pierre Nora and Jacques le Goff (published first in 1974), space does not appear as a subject.[8] It was not to become important again for French historians until the late 1980s, when the critical turn of the *Annales* engendered a reclassification of the discipline, which renewed interest in the subject. Then, with the success of microhistory and its call for changing scales of analysis, space once again became an object of research.[9] This development was also related to a new disciplinary opening in the field of history, which brought archaeology into the geohistorical discourse with a focus on the dynamics of space in one specific area or site. Jacques le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt acknowledged these developments and included space as a subject within the new goals and problems of medieval history in France in 1996.[10]

In Germany, Karl Lamprecht's research on regions and his establishment of scholarly societies and institutes in the Rhine and Leipzig introduced Ratzel's geographical approach to space into the discipline of history.[11] Hermann Aubin, the first director of the Institute of Regional History of the Rhine developed the term *Kulturraum* [cultural space] to evoke the pluridisciplinarity of the approach. Although it began as a broad concept, the research effort was directed into specific regional studies, and it became politicized during the Weimar Republic. The notion that the regions of Germany possessed distinct cultural unities soon fed into the ideologies of National Socialism in the early 1930s. German geography developed political theories around land, environment, and people, which the Nazis appropriated to legitimize their notion of *Lebensraum*. Ultimately, this reification of the subject stigmatized the study of space in Germany during the postwar years to such an extent that space was not included any of the volumes of the encyclopedic project that defined the new "Conceptual History" in Germany, the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen*

Sprache in Deutschland (1972–97) directed by Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhard Kosseleck.[12] Even in 1995, only a few lines were dedicated to the philosophical definition of space (*Raum*) in the *Lexicon des Mittelalters*.[13] During the postwar period in Germany, the associations between geography and the other social sciences remained strained.[14]

Separated from the Continent, the British school of geography was dominated in the nineteenth century by determinist approaches that had been strongly influenced by Darwinism, and which furthered geography as a natural rather than a social science. Through this avenue in British historical studies, space became entangled with notions of "nation" and "identity."[15] The main axes of British historiography during the postwar period focused on people, class, and even race rather than on space.[16] This can be explained by the domination of the political and social approaches in the field of history during the last century and the strong influence of the social sciences on Anglo-American historians rather than geography or archaeology, which were not taken into account until the last decades of the century.

The Spatial Turn

In the 1970s and 1980s, social geographers and urban sociologists, inspired by the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, advanced the idea that people in society structure space, in contrast to the earlier notions of *milieu* or *Kulturraum*, which influenced the activities of people.[17] Thus, a postmodern conception of space was developed: space ceased to be defined as an abstract entity and progressively became a metaconcept with a transdisciplinary vocation.[18] Since its publication in 1974, the sociological theorization of space as developed by Henri Lefebvre in *La production de l'espace* (1974, English translation 1991) has held a prominent place in the discourse. With Lefebvre, space became a medium and a material product that interacts with society.[19] Lefebvre defined space through a conceptual triad comprising physical, social, and mental dimensions. The physical domain is articulated by "representations of space," associated with the production and the ordering of space, and is linked to knowledge, systems, and signs. "Spatial practice" acknowledges social space, and refers to both the active use of space and the forces that operate in space. The mental component informs "representational spaces," such as imagined or symbolic spaces.[20] For Lefebvre, space exists as a social process.

It should be acknowledged that Lefebvre's Marxist convictions

strongly colored his theories, particularly in terms of the function of space as a social operative. In his perspective, space serves to advance a system of production dominated by hegemony.[21] For this reason, it also exists as a code with an underlying logic that can be uncovered. Thus, for example, Lefebvre saw Christian cosmology as the unifying code of medieval space. In this view, medieval "representations of spaces" were located within inhabited centers: the village church, the graveyard, the hall, the square, and the belfry. Medieval "spatial practices" were roads, where trade and commerce took place. "Representational spaces" were Aristotelian and Ptolemaic conceptions as modified by Christianity.[22]

Lefebvre's triad generated a number of new paths for the study of space in the social sciences and humanities. In the field of medieval studies, research into the subject of space still can be organized around these three groups, although they have also branched into new and different iterations that respond to other theoretical models or concepts.

In recent years, geographers searching to theorize our globalized word in spatial terms have generated new ideas useful to historians working on medieval space. Much of this trend is rooted in Deleuze and Guattari's geophilosophy, which conceptualized the notion of "deterritorialization" produced by the formation of states.[23] In France, where the state's territory had long since framed the conception of space, this challenged traditional Euclidean representations of geographical space, and especially its national cartography. Among five merging realities identified by Jacques Lévy were, for instance, the discontinuities of space and time, the rhizomic organization of territories and the question of the cybernetic space, or space where places and peoples are linked by immaterial networks.[24]

An Outline of Recent Practices and Publications in Medieval Studies

While research on space was renewed in the wake of the "critical turn" in the humanities, scholars have pursued a number of directions on the subject. Some areas of analysis have been more consistent than others. In Anglo-American scholarship, the discourse has focused mostly on developing the notion of social space, while on the Continent the representation of space and its function as a symbolic form has inspired a great deal of debate. In addition to these two main streams of study, there are also scholars around the globe who examine space from a concrete perspective based on archaeology or material analysis.

Anglo-American scholars have responded most to the notion of social space as a relative entity constructed by society. In the first anthology in English on the subject, entitled *Medieval Practices of Space*, edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kolbialka, space is understood as socially constructed.[25] In accord with the postmodern valorization of pluralism, and with an implicit refinement of Lefebvre's unified theory, the editors emphasized the heterogeneity and flux of medieval spatial paradigms. In its consideration of some of the modes of medieval spatial construction, such as texts, material culture, or performance, their collection of chapters highlighted the distinction between the unified perception of space in modern thought and the multiple constructions of space in the Middle Ages.

Within this purview, other studies have incorporated Foucault into Lefebvre's paradigm, prioritizing the implications of space in the exchange between knowledge and the exercise of authority. The anthology *Topographies of Power in the Middle Ages* edited by Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws, and Carine van Rhijn brought together chapters concerning specific places where power was centered, and from where that localized power was directed outward in defining specific territories.[26]

Other Anglo-American scholars have focused on defining typologies of spaces and/or places. In this domain, the notion of sacred space has been a consistent theme. Drawing on Mircea Eliade's work on the sacred and the profane, a recent anthology edited by Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, addresses continuities and change in medieval sacred space through chapters that consider practice and experience among individuals as well as communities in both domestic and public, sacred, and secular settings.[27]

Gender also figures in the study of social space. On this subject, Roberta Gilchrist's *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* established an important foundation.[28] This examination of female convents in England demonstrated how the physical layout of buildings and sites contributed to and reinforced gendered practices and social hierarchies in specific places. Building on that study, Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury's collection, *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, examines the gendered organization of medieval church buildings with a view to interpreting how their structures became sites for the inscription of female identities.[29]

If many Anglo-American studies promote a notion of medieval space as heterogeneous and relative, a different stream of thought has recently challenged this perspective in favor of a more centered approach that sees a dialectic between "space" and "place." For

example, Sarah Kay's 2007 monograph, *The Place of Thought*, proposes that ideas are "placed" in imagined but recognizable settings, firmly locating them within broader discursive practices. Her study of fourteenth-century didactic poetry explains that the "places" (as opposed to "spaces") in this literature function to both situate and articulate thought. Drawing upon Bakhtin, as well as the philosophy concerning man's place in the world as discussed by Heidegger, and continuing through to recent French theorists, Kay argues that places unify discourse, which she sees as monologic, rather than pluralistic and disparate. This view argues against current conceptions of medieval space as abstract and multiple, in favor of a unified, yet complex interpretation of place.

In France, the study of space has become more cohesive, particularly among historians and archaeologists. There, Lefebvre's relation between social-spatial constructions and power came to define a distinct spatial representation, described as *territoire* [territory].[30] The territorial conception of space took root in the mid-1990s after Alain Guerreau described feudal space as discontinuous, heterogeneous, and focused on places (territories, land, cities, castles, and so on).[31] This definition served as a new key to interpreting the social processes of feudality and directed historians to revisit Marc Bloch and Georges Duby on the feudal society. This new perspective examined society's appropriation of space and its construction of symbolic spaces.[32] New subjects of inquiry arose in French medieval studies such as sacred and sanctified places and spaces or ecclesiological spaces.[33] The primary question underlying this renovation of paradigms concerned the presumed fixity of the ancient habitat and the antiquity of ecclesiastical structures. Once defended by Arbois de Jubainville and Fustel de Coulanges, the thesis of a consistent habitat in the ancient zones of Roman colonization, from the villa to the village, was disproven by archaeology, which has demonstrated displacements of the habitat as a recurrent phenomenon in the course of the High Middle Ages.[34] Historians have worked to integrate these new findings into a theory of the habitat as a mutable social practice beginning not in Rome but at the advent of feudal society—more or less between 850–1000.

According to the model of *incastellamento* [lit. "in-castle-ment"] proposed by Pierre Toubert, the transformation of the habitat and the reorganization of land that affects Latium and the Sabine Hills in the tenth and the eleventh centuries resulted in the seigneurial desire to regroup men in places that were high and fortified in order to control them. This thesis, which makes the castle the center of a new social organization was expanded by Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier who develop the notion of *encellulement* or the establishment of populations

around a castle, a church, a cemetery, and a parish—poles that control and dominate men.[35] Related to this thesis, Oliver Creighton's *Castles and Landscapes* offers a comprehensive study of castle siting and the effects of princely settlement in the English landscape during the Middle Ages from an archaeologist's perspective.[36]

Recently, Michel Lauwers systematized the contribution of the ecclesiastical pole in speaking of an *inecclesiamento*, to characterize the process by which the Church as an institution created social space.[37] To qualify the nature or the changes operating between the antique world and the medieval world, certain historians have not hesitated to identify the passage from spatial links to social links, with the progressive abandoning of stable organization models.[38] At a late date, the Church contributed in its own manner to the process of "déterritorialisation." In the framework of a dispute between bishops over control of an oratory that needed to still be consecrated, Pope Gelasius I claimed that "it will not do to have a diocese defined by limits or in function of specific places."[39] In this logic, it is not the territory that makes the diocese but the presence of a group of faithful and their personal links to the episcopal authority that bring them together.

Thus, the way in which churches or lay powers shaped territory during the feudal period became a primary object of discussion, through the question of boundaries and limits, itineraries, jurisdictions, and so on. These discussions align with those of geographers, and they have shaped a new model of territorial organization focused on the extension of concentric spaces around specific nodes, such as the altar and the church. The cemetery is the first concentric space around the church. After centuries of separating the living from the dead by means of necropoli outside of the city in Antiquity, the Middle Ages witnessed a slow integration of the dead in the world of the living.[40] Beyond the church cemetery, other Christian spaces were defined by ritual. The *sacraria* developed out of the circumambulation of priests carrying relics 30 steps from the area reserved for the dead around a church; this is where the living regroup in search of sacred protection.[41] These two spaces beyond the church were crucial to the Christian morphogenesis of villages and cities.[42] This model forces us to reconsider the medieval parish (*parochia*) as a medieval creation, without any continuity from the Roman *fundus* and still as an embryo in the ninth and tenth centuries, which did not mature until the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The word *parochia* did not acquire a clear territorial sense until the twelfth century.

At a larger scale, starting around the year 800, the papacy developed an alternative conceptual paradigm for its relation to land,

with the elaboration of proto-national territorial frames around the "Republic of Saint-Peter."[43] The territorialization of the *libertas ecclesiae* was also expanded through the Cluniac order, which organized from the second half of the eleventh century the places and the "spheres" of their seigniorial domination into a unified ecclesiastical structure.[44] These processes are contemporary with another major phenomenon of the changing nature of medieval space: the passage, in the years around 800, of Christianity in the sense of a group of disciples of Christ without territorial reference, to Christianity (with a capital C) in the sense of a geo-political ensemble that groups all the faithful together in the more or less far away day when Christianity covers the whole earth. This territorial creation from the Carolingian period came to maturity at the time of the Church reform of the eleventh and twelfth centuries described as Gregorian, when the papacy was considered as the head of a supra-national ensemble identified with the Church.[45]

Thus in France, the discourse on the subject has focused quite specifically on the relation of territory to institutions of power, while realizing that space contributes to and is formed by complex social interactions.

The Collected Chapters

The chapters presented here, which focus on the period between 900 and 1400, are grouped thematically to underscore how current approaches to the subject are mutually supportive rather than nationally or disciplinarily specific.[46] The collected chapters have been divided in three parts, organized according to a spatial scale, from the specific place in Part I, to the broader shaping of territory by means of socially constructed networks in Part II, and finally to the large geographical realm in Part III. These groupings still respond in large part to Lefebvre's triad concerning representations of spaces involving places and their association to knowledge, practices of space related to relationships or networks, and representational space, which includes the symbolic or ideological shaping of space. At the same time, the chapters here add nuance to those fields and to the larger theory itself; they challenge Lefebvre's assumption that hegemony determines space and demonstrate that space is constructed by multiple and changing forces. In this sense, this anthology thus builds upon the thesis first established by Hanawalt and Kolbiaka, and later developed more fully in French thought, that space is defined in the Middle Ages by change and flux. At the same time, the chapters show how time also plays an important role in the construction of medieval space; in each part of

this volume, recourse to the past or previous relationships anchor the concept of space, which is modified and adapted in relation to it. Thus, space in the Middle Ages was not merely determined by Christian cosmology but rather shaped by the negotiation of earlier practice in relation to contemporary needs or ideals.

The first part of the collection, entitled "Places, Monuments, and Cities," focuses on the structure of space at specific sites. The first three chapters in this section show that *ad quadratum* planning, a practice of design based on the dynamic application of Pythagorean geometry focusing on the square, was an essential feature of the built environment in the Medieval West. Emanuele Lugli's chapter illuminates how Roman centuriation, the practice of surveying the land by quadrants, persisted through the Middle Ages in Italy. He argues specifically that Roman centuriation formed the basis for the *ad quadratum* plans of Lombard architecture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at the cathedrals of Modena and Cremona. While such plans stem from the long-term practice of geometrical applications on the ground, Lugli also shows that there existed a cultural and intellectual basis for the continuation of this practice as exemplified in the writing of Gerbert of Aurillac.

Stefaan Van Liefferinge's chapter illustrates a different relationship between the built environment and medieval conceptions of space. In his analysis, he finds an analogous approach to the physical geometry of the rib vaulting in the choir of Notre-Dame and the sacred geometry of the so-called "mystic ark" by Hugh of Saint-Victor. Space here is therefore also conceived in terms of geometric principles. This chapter suggests that the ribbed vaults of the new Gothic architecture, while constructed through the practical application of geometry by masons, may have issued from a similar intellectual tradition manifested in twelfth-century writing on space.

The third chapter in this part, authored by Robert Bork, examines the geometry that underscores the drawings and plans of Gothic buildings. Bork argues that drawings were essential components in the creation of Gothic architectural space. Specifically, his chapter illuminates how space was represented in the Middle Ages by the pairing of two-dimensional plans on vertical and horizontal axes rather than in three dimensions, a practice dependent on the use of one-point perspective developed in the fifteenth century, in Italy. Bork's chapter thus has important implications for studies of the representation of space in medieval painting. Yet all three chapters show a correspondence between intellectual conceptions of space and actual spatial practice.

Moving away from geometric applications, the final chapter in this part by David Winter discusses a group of churches in Utrecht that

form a cross over the lower Rhine, known today as the *kerkenkruis*. Although the *kerkenkruis* emerged over time, and is not the product of an intentional architectural program, Winter argues that the cross would have been recognized as such in the Middle Ages, given the medieval tendency to interpret the world in terms of symbol and metaphor. His analysis therefore shows how medieval spaces were designed through interpretation. In addition, he suggests that the *kerkenkruis* functioned as a territorial marker, signifying Christian space in the liminal area of the Rhine, a great distance from the physical and spiritual center of Christendom. As such, this chapter marks the transition to the next part of the book that looks at broader spatial constructions.

The second part of this book, titled "Spatial Networks and Territories," examines social constructions of space in the Middle Ages. These chapters show how changing social practices form new spatial identities, which contribute to the establishment of new territories. Opening this part is Anne Lunven's chapter, which examines changing terminology in relation to ecclesiastical communities in medieval Brittany. Lunven shows how the shifting meanings of the terms *plebs* and *parochia* in Brittany convey evolving ideas about the Church and its possessions. This chapter thus elicits the way in which new spaces emerge from changes in linguistic practices.

Similarly, in the next chapter, Thomas Wetzstein examines networks of communication as social-spatial structures in the Middle Ages. Through an analysis of the modes of correspondence among three different social groups, Wetzstein explains the means of formation of close international communities. What he describes as expanding networks of communication among these groups ultimately contributed to the unification of different social strata across diverse political territories in the modern period.

Along with letters, medieval codices show evidence of other social-spatial networks. In the third chapter of this part, Ada Maria Kuskowski explains how French *coutumiers*, logs of customary legal practices, extend royal power beyond the *domaine royal*. This chapter suggests that such legal practices evidence the establishment of French political power as territory in Northern France.

Together these chapters suggest that spatial networks were constructed by a variety of social practices, from language to letters, law, and liturgy, which defined new social or political territories.

The third part of this volume, "Cartography and Imagined Geographies," examines how received knowledge was adapted to ideological conceptions of space. In both real and imaginary maps, space is not fixed and unchanging, but often subject to other orders

that define it. Thus earlier conceptions of space, hierarchical principles, or even anagogical thought bear upon the representation of space. These chapters reiterate the mutability of medieval space.

Sandra Saènz-Lopez Perez describes a *mappamundi* in a French version of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse of Beatus of Liébana* known as the *Beatus of Saint-Sever* (BNF MS Lat. 8878). The author observes that the world map in that manuscript greatly exaggerated the size of France as well as the churches of Saint-Sever and Mimizan, which is explained by the fact that this book, unlike the other Beatus manuscripts, was illuminated in France at Saint-Sever. A formal analysis of the Saint-Sever *mappamundi* shows similarities with other images made in medieval France as well as the Late Antique Peutinger table, suggesting that the Saint-Sever image employed local variants. Her chapter ultimately suggests that the twelfth-century monastic illuminators of this unusual manuscript described place and space in terms of hierarchical conventions that privileged local concerns over historical accuracy.

While not all maps were configured according to local and political values, other cartographic representations also represent space as having mutable, even conflicting boundaries. Jean-Charles Ducène discusses maps of France in the geographic works of Al-Idrīsī, an Arab geographer who worked in the court of the kings of Sicily in the twelfth century. He shows that while the representations of major land masses relied on Ptolemaic knowledge, trade and travel routes were defined as relational entities based on trade practices within the boundaries of Europe. Like the Saint-Sever map, this approach also led to exaggerations or oversights in the cartographic representation, as well as a similar hierarchical approach to space. Notably, no unique distinctions were given to regions unified by a common language or culture. Rather, the representation of space in Al-Idrīsī's map parallels the social-spatial networks described by Wetzstein.

In the third chapter of this part, Natalie Bouloux examines different methods of describing the geographical space of France in texts and maps from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. She begins her study by analyzing the words used to denote the territory of France today that lies under the shifting states of *Gallia* and *Francia*, and continues by comparing texts of scholarly geography with those from lay culture and then the maps that complement or accompany them. Her chapter demonstrates the tensions that arise in such descriptions between geographical spaces and changing political realities. While there is no standard practice for delineating France, these issues must be negotiated in the description of the space of French sovereignty.

Finally, Catherine Nicolas explores a spiritual cartography of

memory as it appears in the prose versions of the *Romans du Graal*. Noticing that the soul was increasingly described as a room over the course of the thirteenth century, she tracks the metaphors describing the soul as a physical space and the material psychology underpinning them. Relying on the theology of St Bernard, she finds that the Eucharist became the center of a new embodied space where the invisible became visible by means of allegory. Thus in this instance, space functions to make abstract ideas more tangible.

Over the course of the symposium and collaboration on the volume, it became clear that medieval space could not be contained within a single paradigm. Rather, it had multiple iterations related to historical and social practices. Places, monuments, and even cities were often subject to a geometric order. Although individual spaces were thus contained or defined, social networks and practices created larger, interlinked territories. Ultimately, geographic spaces were subjected to both of these historic and social practices in their representations.

While space in modern and contemporary society has been understood as a unitary entity in which the institutions of power operate to ensure reproduction, medieval space had multiple and changing agencies. It was articulated through physical, social, and symbolic representations that were altered through use over time. Power was divided among sacred and secular realms, and space was not produced exclusively within either sphere. Spatial knowledge extended beyond the Church and was perpetuated through inherited techniques or practice as well as at universities. Medieval space was established from the interaction of and negotiation between different social strata, the past, and the ideals shaping the future. Among the many possible directions this subject can take, the chapters in this volume have found common ground in their observation of medieval space as rooted as much in the society of man as in the Heavenly Kingdom of Christianity.

1 Thomas Zotz, “Présentation et bilan de l’historiographie allemande de l’espace,” in *Constructions de l’espace au Moyen-Âge: pratiques et représentations. Actes du XXXVII^e congrès de la SHMESP, Mulhouse, juin 2006*, ed. Société des médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public (Paris, 2007), p. 58.

2 Friedrich Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie* (3 vols, Stuttgart, 1882–91). Ratzel later coined the term *Lebensraum* in his *Politische Geographie* (1897), which placed Darwinian natural selection in a spatial and environmental dimension, see Woodruff D. Smith, “Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum,” *German Studies Review*, 3/1 (1980): 51–68. The term was not political at first, but was later adopted by the National Socialist party.

3 Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine* (Paris, 1936), p. 7: “… cette notion paraît être la loi même qui régit la géographie des être vivants” [“this concept seems to be the law itself that governs the geography of living beings”].

4 Anne Mailloux and Laure Verdon, “Marc Bloch: l’espace produit de la société,” in Benoît Cursente and Mirelle Mousnier (eds), *Les territoires du médiéviste* (Rennes, 2005), pp. 23–33; Yves Lacoste, “Braudel géographe,” in *Lire Braudel* (Paris, 1988), pp. 171–218.

5 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (2 vols, Los Angeles, 1995 [1947]), vol. 1, pp. 17–22.

6 Fernand Braudel, *Ecrits sur l’Histoire* (2 vols, Paris, 1969), vol. 1, p. 54: “tous les étages, tous les milliers d’étages, tous les milliers d’éclatements du temps de l’histoire se comprennent à partir de cette profondeur, de cette semi-immobilité, tout gravit autour d’elle.”

7 Marc Bloch looked to German and English geography rather than the French school. See Pierre Toubert, “Préface à Marc Bloch,” *Les caractères originaux de l’histoire rurale français* (Paris, 1999 [1931]).

8 Pierre Nora and Jacques Le Goff (eds), *Faire de l’histoire* (3 vols, Paris, 1986 [1974]), vol. 1: *Nouveaux problèmes*; vol. 2: *Nouvelles approches*; vol. 3: *Nouveaux objets*.

9 The success of microhistory also contributed to this development. See Jacques Revel (ed.), *Jeux d’échelles. La micro-analyse à l’expérience* (Paris, 1996). See also Jean-Claude Waquet, Odile Goerg and Rebecca Rogers (eds), *Les espaces de l’historien* (Strasbourg, 2000), pp. 11–15.

10 Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, “L’histoire médiévale,” in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 39 (1996): 9–25.

11 This paragraph paraphrases the summary given by Zotz, “Présentation et bilan de l’historiographie allemande de l’espace,” p. 59.

12 Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhard Kosseleck (eds), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1972–77).

13 Wolfgang Breidert, “Raum,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (9 vols, Munich, 1995), vol. 7, p. 478, cited in Zotz, “Présentation et bilan de l’historiographie allemande de l’espace,” p. 60.

14 Raymonde Sechet and Vincent Veschambre, *Penser et faire la géographie sociale. Contribution à une épistémologie de la géographie sociale* (Rennes, 2006); Fabien Guillot, *Géographie sociale et politique*, 2009 (http://www.geographie-sociale.org/epistemo-geographie-sociale.htm).

15 Allan J. Lichtman and Valerie French (eds), *Historians and the Living Past: The Theory and Practice of Historical Study* (Arlington Heights, 1978).

16 John Tosh (ed.), *Historians on History* (Edinburgh, 2000); Peter Burke (ed.), *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2002).

17 School of American urban sociologists and architects, born at the end of the

nineteenth century in Chicago, using ethnological methods to analyze the consequences of the urban context on individual or collective behaviors. See Yves Grafmeyer, *L'école de Chicago* (Grenoble, 1978); Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research* (Chicago, 1984).

18 The notion of territory appears more and more frequent at the beginning of the 1980s by French geographers such as Claude Raffestin, Marcel Roncayolo, Guy Di Méo, Roger Brunet, Armand Frémont, and so on; Martin Vanier (ed.), *Territoires, territorialité, territorialisation: controverses et perspectives* (Rennes, 2009); Fabrice Ripoll and Vincent Veschambre, "Le territoire des géographes: quelques points de repères sur les usages contemporains," in *Les territoires du médiéviste* (Rennes, 2005), pp. 271–91.

19 Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris, 1974; English translation, Oxford, 1991), pp. 36–7.

20 Ibid., p. 33.

21 Ibid., p. 11.

22 Ibid., p. 45.

23 Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thouand Plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia* (London, 1987); ibid., *Qu'est ce que la philosophie?* (Paris, 1991); Manola Antonioli, *Géophilosphie de Deleuze et Guattari* (Paris, 2003); Mauro Carbone, Paride Broggi, and Laura Turarbek (eds), *La géophilosophie de Gilles Deleuze, entre esthétique et politiques* (Paris, 2012); Mark Bonta and John Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy* (Edinburgh, 2004).

24 Jacques Lévy, "Un tournant cartographique?" Martin Vanier and Bernard Debarbieux (eds), *Ces territorialités qui se dessinent* (Rennes, 2002), pp. 129–44.

25 Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kolbialka (eds), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minnesota, 2000).

26 Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws, and Carine van Rhijn, *Topographies of Power in the Middle Ages* (Leiden; Boston, 2001). See also the discussion of "territory" below.

27 Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York, 1961); Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2005).

28 Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London, 1994).

29 Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (eds), *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church* (Albany, 2005).

30 *Territoire* is specifically defined as a bounded area either "directed by the will of the prince" or the human communities he oversees, such that "a territory differentiates itself from all the others on a single plane; it requires an enclosure." Daniel Nordman and Jacques Revel, "La formation de l'espace français," in *Histoire de la France*, tome 1: *L'espace français* (Paris, 1989), pp. 39–209, especially pp. 40–41.

31 Alain Guerreau, "Quelques caractères spécifiques de l'espace féodal européen," in Neithard Bulst, Robert Descimon, and Alain Guerreau (eds), *L'Etat ou le Roi: les fondements de la modernité monarchique en France (XIVe–XVIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1996), pp. 85–101. See especially pp. 87–8: "… dans l'Europe féodale, l'espace n'était pas conçu comme continu et homogène, mais comme discontinu et hétérogène, en ce sens qu'il était à chaque endroit polarisé (certaines points étant valorisés, sacralisés, par rapport à d'autres perçus—à partir des premiers et en relation avec eux—comme négatifs). Une multitude de processus et de marqueurs sociaux était à l'œuvre pour singulariser chaque point et s'opposer à toute possibilité d'équivalence ou de permutation" ["… in Feudal Europe, space was not conceived as continuous and

homogeneous, but as discontinuous and heterogeneous, in the sense that it was polarized in each area (certain points were valued, sacred, in relation to other conceptions—[which were] from the first and in relation to them—negative). A multitude of prcesses and social markers were at work to singularize each point ant to oppose any possibility of equivalence or permutation"].

32 On this French historiographical trend, see also Hélène Noizet, "De l'usage de l'espace en histoire medieval," *Ménestrel*, http://www.menestrel.fr/spip.php?rubrique1028&lang=fr, 18 january 2009. She distinguishes four uses of space in medieval historiography: space as territory, space as symbolical space, space as social dimension, and space as real and concrete space.

33 André Vauchez (ed.), *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires. Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques* (Rome, 2000). Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Eglise au Moyen Âge* (v. 800–v. 1200) (Paris, 2006).

34 For more on this historiography see Dominique Iogna-Prat and Elizabeth Zadora-Rio, "Territoires paroissiaux et construction de l'espace vernaculaire," *Médiévales*, 49 (2005): 5–10.

35 Pierre Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle* (Rome, 1973); Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier, *Le village et la maison au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1980). This theory was then questioned by archaeologists such as Elizabeth Zadoria-Rio. See Elizabeth Zadoria-Rio, "Le village des historiens et le village des archéologues," in *Campagnes médiévales: l'homme et son espace: études offertes à Robert Fossier* (Paris, 1995); Monique Bourin and Elizabeth Zadoria-Rio, "Pratiques de l'espace: les apports comparés des données textuelles et archéologiques," in *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations* (Paris, 2007), pp. 39–55; Magali Watteaux, "A propos de la 'naissance du village au Moyen Âge': la fin d'un paradigme?" *Etudes rurales*, 167–8 (2003): 307–18.

36 Oliver Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community, and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002).

37 Michel Lauwers, *La naissance du cimetière: lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2005). To appreciate the force of this innovation, it is helpful to insist on the fact that this process, which began between the years 850 and 900, completely contradicts Christianity's early disinterest in any presence in the spheres of terrestrial life.

38 Michel Lauwers and Laurent Ripart, "Représentation et gestion de l'espace dans l'Occident médiéval," in Jean-Philippe Genet (ed.), *Rome et la genèse de l'Etat moderne: une comparaison typologique* (Rome, 2007), pp. 115–71; Michel Lauwers, "Territorium non facere diocesim … Conflits, limites et représentation territoriale du diocèse, V^e–XIII^e siècle," in Florian Mazel (ed.), *L'espace du diocèse: genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (V^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Rennes, 2008), pp. 23–65.

39 Fragmentum 19, in Andreas Thiel and Pierre Coustant (eds), *Epistolae romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scripta* (Brannsberg, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 493–4.

40 The archaeology of the habitat has illuminated a long process that follows a variable chronology depending on the region. This chronology comprises three phases: the full-fledged necropolis outside of the country, the regrouping of tombs in spaces consecrated around churches, and a time of inhumation within the ecclesiastical habitat. See Michel Lauwers, *La naissance du cimetière*.

41 Similar gatherings sometimes appear to form the center of a village (*sagrera, cellera*), which some archaeologists would qualify as an "ecclesiastical village." Ibid.

42 Ghislaine Fabre, Monique Bourin, Jacqueline Caille, and André Debord (eds),

Morphogenèse du village médiéval (IXe–XIIe siècles). Actes de la table ronde de Montpellier, 22–23 février 1993 (Montpellier, 1996).

43 Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Léon IX, pape consécrateur", in Georges Bischoff and Benoît-Michel Tock (eds), *Léon IX et son temps. Actes du colloque international de l'Institut d'histoire médiévale de l'Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg-Eguisheim, 20–22 juin 2002* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006), pp. 355–83. It is Leo IX who initiates the fashion, characteristic of the reformist papacy, of the great voyages of the Roman pontiff in order to consecrate sites (altars and churches) and spaces ritually delimited by perambulation or circuits (cemeteries and church properties). In doing this, he gives in a sense a territorial reality to the *libertas romana* contemporary with his pontificate, the places and spaces consecrated being the "clones" of Rome.

44 Didier Méhu, *Paix et communauté autour de l'abbaye de Cluny (X^e–XV^e siècle*) (Lyon, 2001). This network of places, which is centered on the abbey church and its major altar where the remains of Peter and Paul repose, is organized in a circle of domination at the center of which "Cluniac sanctity stands as a completely inviolable area." It amounts to fixing on land the location of immunity that the monastery enjoyed. Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 1999). In 1095, the limits of the Cluniac sacred ban, that is to say, the place of justice of Saint Peter, materialized in the form of tangible signs (paths and crosses) joined together by roads.

45 Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Constructions chrétiennes d'un espace politique," *Le Moyen Âge*, 107 (2001): 49–69.

46 In "Pratiques de l'espace: les apports comparés des données textuelles et archéologiques," Monique Bourin and Elisabeth Zadora-Rio demonstrate how certain interdisciplinary interactions produce different and sometimes competing information on the same subject; *Construction de l'espace*, pp. 39–55.

PART I
Places, Monuments, and Cities

Chapter 1
Squarely Built: an Inquiry into the Sources of *Ad Quadratum* Geometry in Lombard Architecture Between the Eleventh and the Twelfth Centuries

Emanuele Lugli

The Dynamism of Geometrical Design in the Middle Ages

If there is one thing that seems to unify medieval planning across geographical boundaries and time frames, it is *ad quadratum* geometry. With this expression, we refer to systems of proportional schemes derived from the components of the square, such as its side or its diagonal, which were combined to generate the plans of buildings.[1] Scholars are convinced of the geometrical nature of design solutions since a long time and intensive research over the last decades has enriched our insight about its diverse local applications and cultural dimensions, which have now led to two promising paths of research.

First, since Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, where space was defined as the result of social relationships, geometrical schemes have been approached as formal mediations of political forces.[2] Lefebvre thought that their study was conductive to the exposure of a society's political structures, as did David Friedman, who in his *Florentine New Towns*, a book detailing the geometrical design of some fourteenth-century Florentine outposts, first revealed the historical production of such structures.[3] It is important to stress that Lefebvre described social interactions as incessantly changing and such a dynamic picture spurred scholars to move past the idea of planning as a predetermined activity.[4] In an age of unpredictable economic fluctuation and slow construction, medieval architects endorsed an open-ended design process, which relied on geometrical schemes and their creative,

potentially never-ending concatenation of shapes, to maximize building flexibility.[5]

Such a dynamic flow also characterizes the second wave in current scholarship. Under growing pressure from anthropology and visual culture, geometrical schemes are perceived less as the application of theorems than as the outcomes of specific bodily performances.[6] Measuring involves a motion of hands and eyes; the tracing a geometrical shape on the ground has many traits in common with a ritual performance or a dance (in the sense of a series of planned and controlled movements). As one of the key interests of politics is the control of bodies, the difference from Lefebvre's theory may appear slight. Yet, whereas Lefebvre's focus remains on the social infrastructure, this approach mostly turns to the technological, asking questions about the measurement standard medieval communities employed, what reference points builders took (did they consider the thickness of the walls or the diameter of columns when planning a building?), and what degree of error was tolerated. As we mostly lack historical information about such issues, these questions are largely frustrated, as Eric Fernie pointed out in a foundational essay.[7] Still, these issues make us realize that measuring is not a neutral activity.[8] And while searching for data that may cast some light on historical measuring, architectural historians now know that they must be explicit about the way they conduct their own surveys.

This chapter, a historical account of the plans of Modena and Cremona cathedrals aiming at refining some general prejudices about medieval geometrical planning, stems out of this twofold perspective. Both built in the first half of the twelfth century in Italy's Po valley, these churches are often described as the products of a shared architectural culture, which is here confirmed by the retrieval of the same proportional schemes.[9] Interestingly, these are described in coeval manuscripts that transcribe passages from late classical manuals for land surveyors and administrators that today go under the name of *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*.

Scholars have known of the *Corpus* since the nineteenth century, yet most of them have marginalized its cultural relevance as second-string, with only few voices detaching themselves from the group.[10] Such dismissal is still prevalent among architectural historians as centuriation—the Roman system of land division for whose preservation the *Corpus* was originally written—was thought to be unknown in the Middle Ages. A series of recent archaeological studies have however showed the contrary, thus confirming the historical plausibility of finding centuriation proportions in the cathedral of Modena and Cremona.[11] This chapter, however, goes further as it contends that the centuriation was the very repository of geometrical

schemes, thus arguing for a non-textual source for geometrical transmission. This hypothesis is supported by the cultural intensity of centuriation, which drew the curiosity of intellectuals such as Gerbert of Aurillac and whose features significantly shaped an array of spatial activities, from the gauging of measurements to the orientation of buildings.

Roman Centuriation in the Po Valley

Centuriation is a vast, regular, chessboard-like grid of roads and canals, which was carried out by the Romans after conquering the area in the 190s BCE (see Map 1.1). Centuriating the land was the conclusive act of military conquest: it charted every bit of the territory, even marking areas far away from urban centers likely to remain undeveloped. Such spatial configuration had a variety of benefits. By turning land into a quantitative grid, it facilitated travel, the calculation of distances, and, as historians usually point out, the precise assignment of fields to settlers as well as the calculation of taxes.[12] As we know from the *Corpus*, its basic unit was the *centuria*, a square measuring 20 *actus* per side (one *actus* = 35.48 m or 120 Roman feet of 29.73 cm).[13] Two *actus* made one *iugerum*, and two *iugera* (or one *heredium*) usually constituted the size of the average plot assigned, by lot, to a family of colonists.[14] Hence, the name "centuria" referred to the one hundred plots the area ought to create (one *centuria* = one hundred blocks of two square *iugera*) (see Figure 1.1).

Map 1.1 Extant centuriation reticulum near Bologna (map in the public domain). From Giovanna Bonora Mazzoli, "Persistenze della divisione agraria romana nell'ager bononiensis," in *Insediamenti e viabilità nell'Alto Ferrarese dall'età romana al Medioevo* (Ferrara, 1989), 87–101

Centuriation guidelines, either parallel or perpendicular, were traced on the ground by the *agrimensores*, surveyors of great engineering expertise. To do so, they heavily relied on the *groma*, a wooden tripod supporting a horizontal metal cross from whose arms plumb-lines hang down.[15] The *groma* was an instrument that operated by sight; the *agrimensor* established the direction of the new axis by aligning one plummet with its opposite and shouted to a collaborator where to position the stakes (*dictare metas*).[16] To our eyes, it may seem

a primitive technique, but it was a perfectly reliable instrument for short distances, such as those encompassing a few *actus*. Further, only by sight did the Romans manage to circumvent the complex calculations that the curvature of the earth and the slope of the ground would have required. The correct alignment of the stakes was automatically double-checked while enlarging the centuriation grid, but the real authentication came when measuring the sides of each *actus* by rods or ropes.[17]

The rule is also at the core of *ad quadratum* planning. When designing a square, one can be sure that what was drawn is precise as the relationship between the sides of a square and its diagonal is fixed. Today we represent this relationship as √2, but in classical as well as in premodern times (that is, before the creation of irrational numbers), it was often seen as 17/12.[18] To make sure that a square with sides of 12 *braccia* was exact, a medieval master would check whether its diagonal was 17 *braccia* (see Figure 1.2). If the diagonal did not correspond, one of the extremes of the square had to be repositioned to fulfill that condition. The Roman centuriation was the product of this simple geometrical relationship. Since the side of the *actus* measures 120 Roman feet, a surveyor could verify that the quadrangle he had just traced was a perfectly squared *actus* (120 × 120 feet) by checking that its diagonal measured 170 feet.

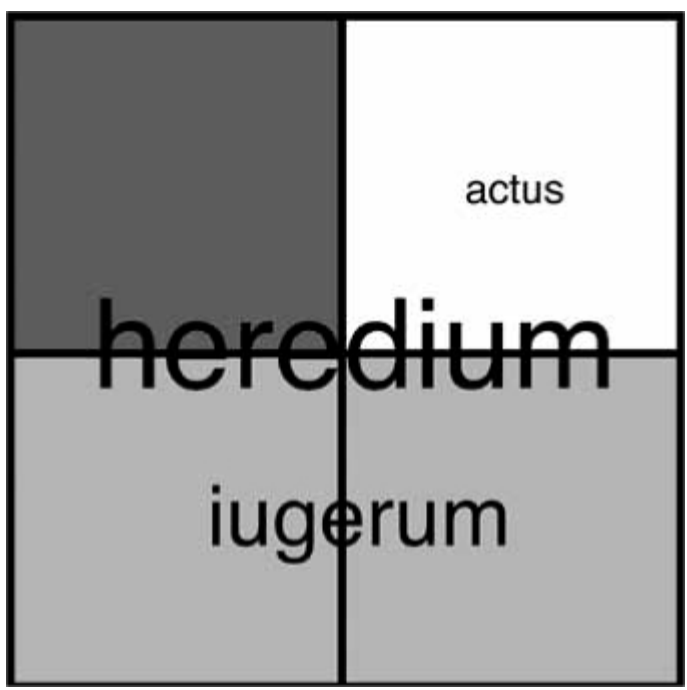


Figure 1.1 The proportional scheme of centuriation (Emanuele Lugli)

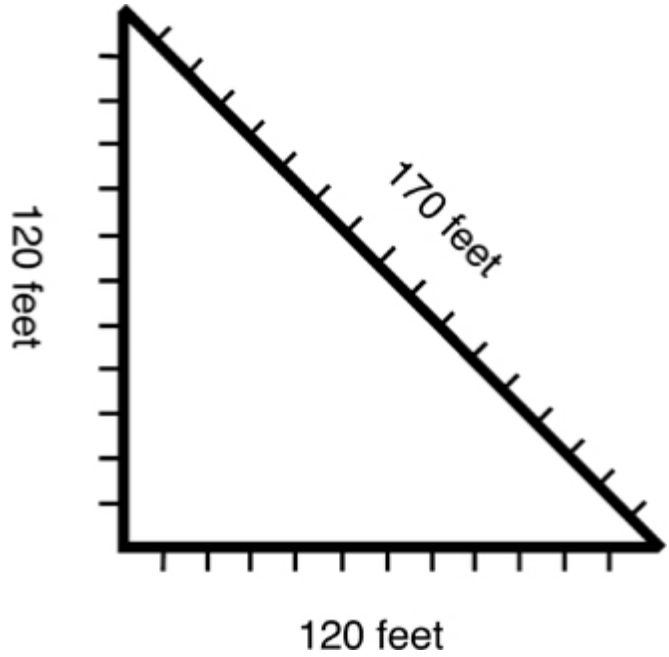


Figure 1.2 The relationship between side and diagonal in a square whose side is 12 *braccia* (Emanuele Lugli)

The surveying continued this way, as a strenuous process of trial and error (with stakes repositioned countless times and the operations jeopardized by sudden gusts of wind) and as a very delicate matter (its pace was determined by the fleeting disappearance of the tiny silhouette of a man behind two out-of-focus plumbs). Still, the *agrimensores* painstakingly managed to partition Rome's vast and largely uncharted conquered territories, an extraordinary undertaking which, regrettably, is admired only by a few specialists.

Although designed to encompass slopes and even mountains, the centuriation crossed the Po river valley, Italy's largest flatland, an ideal terrain of application. There, many square kilometers of centuriated area are still perfectly visible in the course of most of its streets and canals. Its preservation, to a large extent, depended on its astonishing precision. In the territory of Carpi, north of Modena, many Roman *centuria* are well preserved as their perimeters are marked by roads that are still in use. Their sides measure in average 706.1 m, with a margin of error of about 1.28 m per kilometer.[19]

Far from disappearing then, in medieval times many canals and streets that made up the centuriation remained where they were. Lots and fields filled the centuriation reticulum without compromising it. The archaeologists Carlotta Franceschelli and Stefano Marabini have even demonstrated that in the early Middle Ages the centuriation grid was expanded and new perpendicular streets and canals were created

ex novo near Faenza, in the East sector of the Po valley, in the proportions of the centuriation.[20] This suggests that Roman surveying techniques were consummately known at the dawn of the Middle Ages.

Centuriation Embodied: the Cathedrals of Modena and Cremona

A feature of the landscape, centuriation also became a magnetic grid for medieval planning, as most churches of the Po valley built between the eleventh and twelfth centuries conformed to its orientation.[21] This includes all cathedrals, except that in Fidenza, and many important abbeys, such as San Zeno in Verona and San Silvestro in Nonantola. It is unsure when churches started following this orientation in spite of the religious *diktat* that favored solar coordinates. Without comprehensive statistical data (unfeasible, as we lack reliable dating for most Romanesque churches), we should rest with the vague hypothesis that the orientation never truly went out of focus. (After all, many medieval buildings, such as the Faenza baptistery, were created in early Christian times and followed the reticulum by default.)[22] Yet, the case of Modena cathedral, for which we possess a bit more information, points to a different interpretation. Far from continuing a time-honored habit, the orientation of the twelfth-century church was deliberately corrected so as to follow Roman centuriation.

When the architect Lanfrancus was summoned in 1099 to build a new cathedral in Modena, he had to deal with the previous church, a vast edifice of five naves erected under bishop Eribertus (d. 1092).[23] Usually, new churches enlarged the preexisting ones. The medieval architect was trained to recuperate material from the previous fabric, a practice that Lanfrancus himself followed by recycling carvings and revetment stones. Yet, Lanfrancus also exerted some critical judgment. He selected what to recuperate (we know that he had some capitals sent to the parish church of Santa Maria Rocca, on the mountains)[24] and, more resolutely, he decided on a plan that followed, with the utmost precision, the local course of the Roman centuriation (see Figure 1.3). Admittedly, archaeological evidence shows that the ninth-century cathedral did not do so. Lanfrancus's decision is curious, however, as the rotation of the new church was just of a matter of a few degrees. The decision spurred an enormously expensive endeavor, as it required the expropriation of neighboring buildings and the complete demolition of the previous church. Such a massive redesign leaves us with questions about the reasons of this choice, which I can

only tentatively answer by hypothesizing an ambitious spatial reordering of the whole city. This is suggested by the urban plots which were built also in the twelfth century north of the cathedral, across from the Aemilian Way, which all precisely follow centuriation guides.

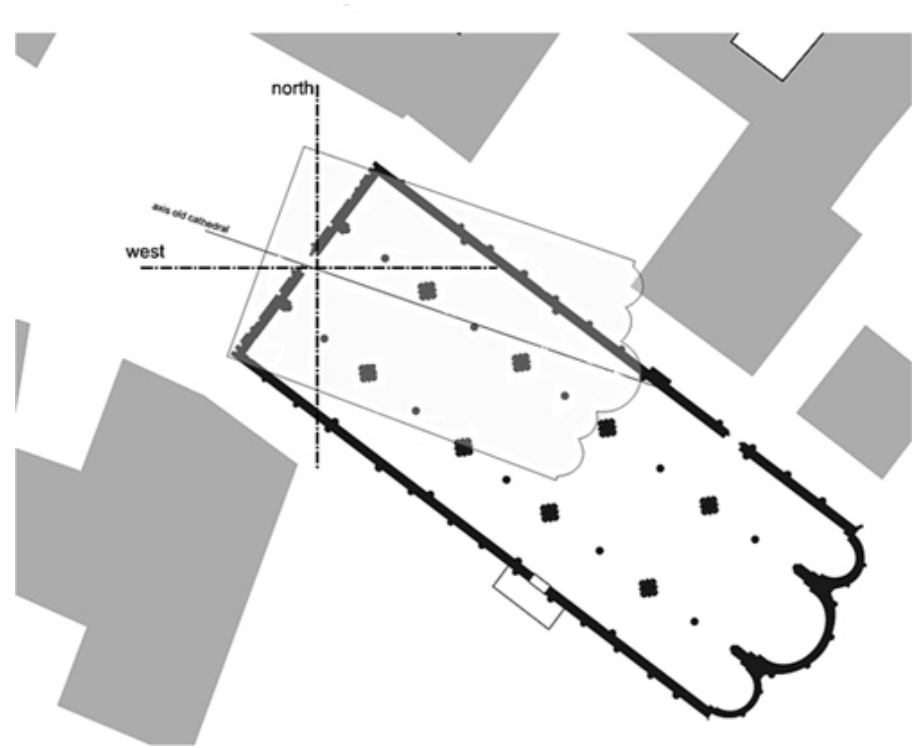


Figure 1.3 The rotation of the "new" Modena cathedral (begun in 1099) and the alignment of its axis with the centuriation (Emanuele Lugli)

Around the same time, Cremona cathedral was built. Not only did it also follow the orientation of the pre-extant centuriation, but the Roman reticulum saturated the building at a deeper level. Hans Peter and Beate Autenrieth's meticulous analysis of the brickwork of its walls has revealed that the church was first planned without the transept as a two-square rectangle.[25] It is unclear whether this happened in 1107, the date reported on the inscription on the facade, or after the devastating earthquake of 1117.[26] In any case, the transept was built during a second campaign and the nave must have been planned as two adjoined squares, as customary in *ad quadratum* geometry (see Figure 1.4).[27] The precision is compromised today: while reaching the apse, the south wall of the nave departs from the north side. This flaw could be due to subsidence, damages produced by the earthquake, or to adapt to preexistent structures—indeed,

fragments of earlier walls have been found in this area.[28] Yet, the geometrical relationship between the north side and the facade is perfect. The width of the facade is 35.5 m and the 71.4 meter-long north wall (exclusive of the socle, which was built in the twentieth century) clearly doubles it.[29] Interestingly, each square can also be read as one *actus* (35.3 m corresponds to 120 Roman feet), meaning that the nave of Cremona cathedral was designed to fit perfectly into a Roman *iugerum*. Given the obscure history of the church, it is not possible to make sensible guesses about how the planners came up with this form (did the church take over a preexistent Roman lot?) and yet, the consistency of medieval planning of the time points to the architects' conscious endorsement of centuriation proportions.

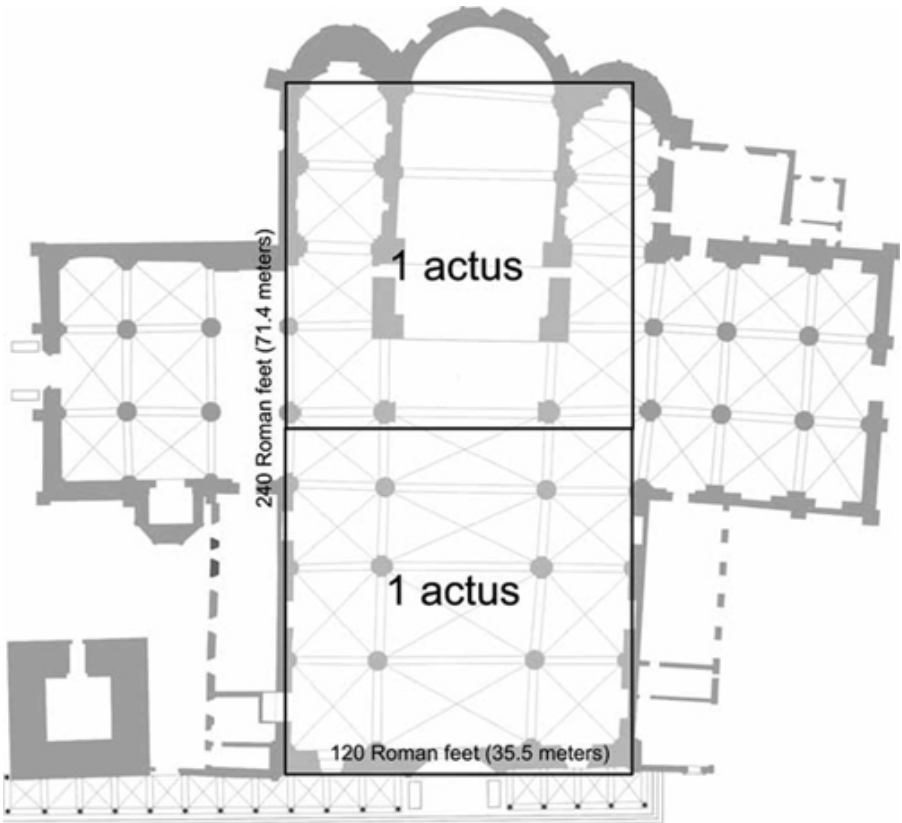


Figure 1.4 Ground plan of twelfth-century Cremona cathedral (twelfth century), with measurements (Emanuele Lugli)

Cremona was not a unique case, as the basic centuriation proportions of 17 and 12 also entered the plan of Modena cathedral. Its main body was planned as a square and a rectangle whose long side matches the diagonal of the square. The external perimeter of the socle of Modena cathedral (excluding the apses) measures 24.940 and

24.812 m respectively on its west and east facades and 60.651 and 60.377 m on the north and south sides. In Modena's medieval measurements, for which 1 *braccio* equals 52.3 cm, this makes a rectangle of 48 by 116 *braccia*, which Casari has convincingly argued should be seen as a square of 48 *braccia* plus a rectangle built on its diagonal of 68 *braccia* (Figure 1.5).[30] The short side of 48 *braccia* can also be read as four times 12 *braccia* and the diagonal that adds up to the long side can be seen as four times 17 *braccia*. Since 17 is a prime number, uncommon in mathematical series and traditional religious exegesis, its association to the Roman centuriation is quite secure.[31]

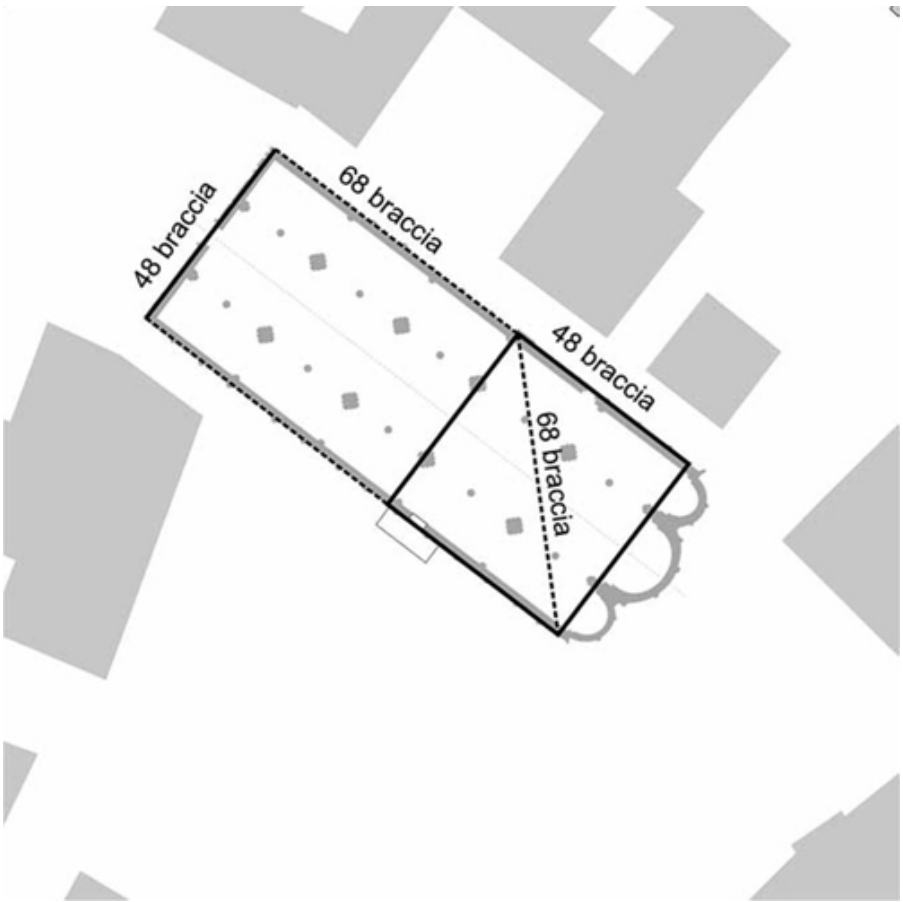


Figure 1.5 Ground plan of Modena cathedral (begun in 1099), with measurements (Emanuele Lugli)

Further, the dimension of the Modenese standard (the *braccio*) seems to have been extrapolated from Roman centuriation. Indeed, 68 *braccia* precisely correspond to 120 Roman feet. This means that in the Middle Ages the side of one *actus* may have been seen not as 120 Roman feet, but also as 68 Modenese *braccia*, which means that it is

possible to reinterpret the Roman centuriation using the Modenese measurement system without altering its boundaries. Further, because 68 is four times 17, the Modenese *braccio* was not only proportional to the basic unit of Roman centuriation, but acknowledged, in its structure, the key proportion to Roman land surveying (that is, the diagonal of a square of sides of 12 units). These proportional correlations must have been known by Lanfrancus, who purposely designed Modena cathedral to embody them. As we saw, the church was constructed around a diagonal of 120 Roman feet (previously expressed as 68 Modenese *braccia*). This means that in the Middle Ages the side of one *actus* may have been seen not as 120 Roman feet, but also as 68 Modenese *braccia*. In other words, it is possible to reinterpret the Roman centuriation using the Modenese measurement system without altering its boundaries.

The Cultural Relevance of Centuriation and Gerbert of Aurillac's Curiosity

Much of the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* survived in the Middle Ages as many of its fragments were copied together with Euclidean excerpts.[32] The result may appear to us philologically incoherent, but the conceptual horizon of the operation was hardly so. Zaitsev has explained that in the Middle Ages geometry was frequently interpreted etymologically as "mensuratione terrae" ["measuring of the earth"].[33] Geometry did not then identify a set of abstract rules and procedures, as these were necessarily linked to the very practice of measuring. Gerbert of Aurillac (c. 950–1003) conforms to such a widespread mindset when he opens his geometrical treatise, the first to be given this name, by defining measuring as the preliminary step for any inquiries into geometric principles.[34] He then continued by explaining geometrical figures as the proportions between linear magnitudes, which, he writes, are always made of 12 parts (*unciae*). Among the dimensional relationships he discusses is the ratio between the diagonal and the side of a square, which, as we saw, was fundamental for the centuriation.

Gerbert's *Geometria* is explicit about considering centuriation as the source of geometrical principles.[35] In his treatise, he gives the dimensions of the *actus* and explains the relationship between square triangles, the fundamental move of triangulation and surveying.[36] Because of these passages, philologists have suggested that Gerbert read and copied from the so-called 'X' tradition of the *Corpus*, of which one example is in Naples today.[37]

Gerbert may also have had direct experience of centuriation.

Although it is unsure where and when Gerbert wrote his treatise, most scholars agree that his curiosity for surveying may date to 981–83, that is, during his stay in Bobbio, in the Po valley. As abbot of an important monastery controlling a vast estate, Gerbert may have been familiar with the centuriation that permeated the territory and divided the fields. His correspondence of the time indicates this, as it expresses a remarkable curiosity for surveying. Indeed, in a letter dated 983, Gerbert discloses that he owned a manuscript which described methods and tools for measuring and in another missive, sent to Adalbold of Utrecht in 998, reveals that he gave him a manuscript reproducing the *Corpus*.[38]

At the time Adalbold (d. 1026) was at Liège, where there was an important school for the transmission of gromatic knowledge and where some of Gerbert's pupils ended up teaching. Among these was Franco, who published *De quadratura circuli* (1050), a demonstration of the relationship between diagonal and side of a square as 17/12, and Fulbert (d. 1028).[39] One of Fulbert's pupils was Adelman, who later became bishop of Brescia in 1057. It is presumed that it was he who commissioned the city's beautiful cathedral in the shape of a rotunda and oriented it according to the centuriation.[40] The intensity and the geographical reach of Gerbert's education still need to be investigated. Yet, these sources indicate that Gerbert's approach to the geometrical problems, which intrigued several other intellectuals of the eleventh century, was mediated by his interest in the *Corpus* and, perhaps, by his direct experience of centuriation.

Gerbert's geometrical knowledge confirms that it is historically plausible to think that Lanfrancus designed Modena cathedral around the proportions of the centuriation. (We must be wary while coupling Gerbert's passages and Lombard churches, as the problem of their relationship is not historical—that is, it cannot be solved by sources—but epistemological: its solution rests on what convinces us of a connection between two discrete cultural regimes.) Further, Gerbert's curiosity for centuriation is indicative that this feature of the landscape attracted interest outside the architectural circle. The evidence I have here collected suggests that centuriation worked as the crucible through which medieval communities approached space at large. It divided the land, it provided the orientation to churches and cities alike, it was the source from which some measurement systems were devised and the repository of key geometrical proportions. Such an extensive utilization of centuriation may have been endorsed for practical reasons, as its reticulum was very precise and, above all, already available. Yet, such a recuperation was hardly complacent. Gerbert's interest in land surveying as well as the mathematical correspondences between the Modenese cathedral and

the *actus* reveal an intense critical reasoning on centuriation and suggest that its cultural reach may have metaphorically matched its geographical extension.

1 Although an expression employed in medieval times, the label *ad quadratum* is a subjective choice and I employ it here mostly because of its use in Ad Quadratum, *The Practical Application of Geometry in Medieval Architecture*, ed. Nancy Y. Wu (Aldershot, 2002). Not all scholars would agree with this choice. Most famously, Viollet-le-Duc saw triangles, rather than squares, as the key figure in the architectural use of geometrical schemes; both *ad quadratum* and *ad triangulum* principles are recorded in the 1390s documents concerning the construction of Milan cathedral. The opposition is however linguistic, not practical, as the titles emphasize only different approaches to congruent Euclidean principles. See Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle* (9 vols, Paris, 1854–68), vol. 7, p. 543; James S. Ackerman, "'Ars sine scientia nihil est': Gothic Theory of Architecture at the Cathedral of Milan," *Art Bulletin*, 31/2 (1949): 84–111, esp. 91.

2 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991 [1974]).

3 David H. Friedman, *Florentine New Towns: Urban Design in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1989).

4 Stephen Murray, "Reconciling the Feet at Beauvais and Amiens," in *Ad Quadratum*, pp. 169–81, esp. 170.

5 Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 103–17.

6 James Elkins, *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction* (London, 2003), pp. 1–30. The discussion of *ad quadratum* schemes by Plato and Vitruvius made them appear somewhat intuitive. This is, for instance, the position of Paul Frankl, "The Secret of the Medieval Masons," *Art Bulletin*, 27/1 (1945): 46–60, pp. 57–8. See also François Bucher, "Medieval Design Methods, 800–1560," *Gesta*, 11/2 (1972): 37–51. In his section on "square schematism," Bucher squeezes so many examples, from Saint-Gall to Le Corbusier, that he virtually crafts an argument on the universality of the system.

7 Eric Fernie, "Introduction," in *Ad Quadratum*, pp. 1–9, esp. 6.

8 Exemplary of this is Murray and Guerreau's disagreement over the dimensions of Saint-Denis, a church they both surveyed. See Alain Guerreau, "Edifices médiévaux, métrologie, organisation de l'espace, à propos de la cathédrale de Beauvais," *Annales ESC*, 47/1 (1992): 87–106, esp. 94. On measurements as a culturally specific activity: Witold Kula, *Measures and Men* (Princeton, 1986), p. 17.

9 Roberto Salvini, "I discepoli di Wiligelmo a Cremona," *Commentari*, 2 (1951): 153–61.

10 On the marginalization of the *Corpus*, Bethold L. Ullman, "Geometry in the Mediaeval Quadrivium," in Giovanni Mardersteig (ed.), *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis* (4 vols, Verona, 1964), vol. 4, pp. 263–85, esp. p. 266; Lon Shelby, "The Geometrical Knowledge of Medieval Master Masons," *Speculum*, 47/3 (1972): 400 and 404; *Ad Quadratum*, pp. 32 and 220–222. Alternative views are offered in Tadeusz Zagrodski, "L'influence de la tradition antique de la distribution de l'étendue sur le tracé des plans des villes créées au Moyen Âge," in Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (eds), *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (2 vols, Poitiers, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 451–60; and Marie-Thérèse Zenner, "Imagining a Building: Latin Euclid and Practical Geometry," in John J. Contreni and Santa Casciani (eds), *Word, Image, Number: Communication in the Middle Ages* (Tavarnuzze, 2002), pp. 219–46, esp. p. 224.

11 See Carlotta Franceschelli and Stefano Marabini, "Assetto paleoidrografico e centuriazione romana nella pianura faentina," *Agri Centuriati: International Journal of Landscape Archaeology*, 1 (2004): 87–107 and Fernando Lugli, *I Numeri raccontano Carpi: Uno studio di archeologia della misura* (Carpi, 2005), pp. 16–19.

12 For the Romans' conquest of the territory (starting in the 190s BCE) and its spatial organization, see Umberto Tocchetti Pollini, "Le città in età romana. L'inizio del fenomeno urbano e le sue trasformazioni," Gian Pietro Brogiolo (ed.), *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia: Valutazione dei depositi archeologici e inventario dei vincoli* (Modena, 1985), pp. 344–7. The most important study of centuriation in northern Italy is Salvatore Settis (ed.), *Misurare la terra: Centuriazione e comuni nel mondo romano* (Modena, 2003 [1983]).

13 All the partial German editions of the *Corpus* have been substituted by Brian Campbell, 'The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary', *Journal of Roman Studies Monograph*, 9 (London, 2000). On the dimensions of centuriation, see pp. 2–5 and 134–63. Basic information is also in Oswald A.W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors: An Introduction to the Agrimensores* (Newton Abbot, 1971).

14 Only in exceptional conditions could the Roman Senate authorize a different form for the lots. In 173 BCE Cisalpine Gaul, for instance, the lots were sized up to 10 *iugera* in order to attract settlers: see Livy 42.4.3. In northern Italy there exist a few alternatives to the standard centuriation reticulum, such as *centuriae* of 21 × 20 *actus* around Verona, of 12 × 12 *actus* near Cividale and of 21 × 21 *actus* in Treviso. Yet, none of these sectors is a true exception to the centuriation system as each is still the articulation of *iugera*. See *Misurare la terra*, pp. 85–7. On assigning and recording the lots, see Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Le 'formae' delle colonie romane e le miniature dei gromatici," *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia: Memorie della classe di scienze morali e storiche*, ser. VII, 4/4 (1943): 83–118.

15 On centuriation technology: Pier Luigi dall'Aglio, "La bassa pianura parmense tra età romana e primo medioevo," *Archivio storico per le province parmensi*, 4/55 (2003): 491–507, p. 492; Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy, and the Ancient World* (London, 1976), p. 58; Michael Jonathan Taunton Lewis, *Surveying Instruments of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge, 2001). The *groma* may still have been used in the Middle Ages as Hrotsvitha (c. 935–c. 1002) alludes to it while describing the tracing of the foundations of the church in Gandersheim, where she lived. See "Primordia cenobii Gandeshemensis," in *Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed. Paul von Winterfield, MGH Scriptores, 34 (Berlin, 1980), p. 236.

16 Dilke, *Land Surveyors*, p. 59.

17 Ibid., p. 73.

18 Peter Kidson, "A Metrological Investigation," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 53 (1990): 71–97 and Pierre Gros, "Nombres irrationnels et nombres parfaits chez Vitruve," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, Antiquité, 88 (Rome, 1976), pp. 669–704. For a recent account of the proportion, see Stefaan Van Liefferinge, "The Hemicycle of Notre-Dame of Paris: Gothic Design and Geometrical Knowledge in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 69/4 (December, 2010): 491–507, esp. 499.

19 The measuring was taken with a GPS system, which has a margin of error of 18 cm per terrestrial degree. The coordinates, distances and the computation process are described in Fernando Lugli, *I Numeri raccontano Carpi*, pp. 16–19. Another example of the precision achieved by Roman surveyors comes from the 29 kilometer-long surviving section of the German frontier laid down under Domitian, which has an error of only about 2 meters. See Dilke, *Land Surveyors*, p. 54.

20 Franceschelli and Marabini, "Assetto paleoidrografico e centuriazione romana," pp. 87–107.

21 Although homogeneous as to its practice, the centuriation adapted to the characteristics of a territory frequently broken by rivers, thus producing not one

unitary, potentially infinite grid, but a patchwork-like arrangement of variously oriented schemes. If we limit our scope to northern Italy we observe that the centuriation is rotated around 34 degrees in Mantua, 20 in Cremona, and 4 in Ivrea, while the course of the Aemilian Way, which worked as reference line for several of the areas it crosses, oscillates between 30 and 40 degrees. See Piero Ugolini, "Sistema territoriale e urbano della Valle Padana," in Cesare de Seta (ed.) *Storia d'Italia, Annali 8: Insediamenti e territorio* (Turin, 1985), pp. 159–240, esp. 164–6. These considerations should not belittle the colossal scale of the centuriation as each portion remained enormous. An inscription from Clastidium (modern Casteggio) shows that this town was served by the pertica of Piacenza, some 49 km distant. For an explanation of the orientation of the centuriation "secundum naturam," see Campbell, *Roman Land Surveyors*, p. 134. The false idea that the centuriation always conformed to the solar course is still frequent in scholarship, as evident in Rykwert, *Idea of a Town*, p. 202.

22 Paolo Porta, "La cattedrale paleocristiana nelle fonti storico-monumentali," in Antonio Savioli (ed.), *Faenza: La basilica cattedrale* (Florence, 1988), pp. 13–25, esp. p. 16.

23 Francesco Gandolfo, "Il cantiere dell'architetto Lanfranco e la cattedrale del vescovo Eriberto," *Archeologia Medievale*, 3/1 (1989): 29–47.

24 Carlo Giovannini, "Ipotesi di reimpiego nella chiesa di Rocca Santa Maria dei capitelli del duomo di Modena eretto nell'VIII o IX secolo," *Atti e Memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le antiche province modenesi*, 29 (2007): 3–34.

25 Hans Peter Autenrieth and Beate Autenrieth, "Der Bau des Domes in Cremona zur Zeit des Bischofs Oberto di Novara (1117–1162)," in Antonio Cadei (ed.), *Arte d'Occidente: temi e metodi. Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini* (3 vols, Rome, 1999), vol. 1, pp. 111–21.

26 Paolo Galli, "I terremoti del Gennaio 1117: Ipotesi di un epicentro nel Cremonese," *Il Quaternario*, 18/2 (2005): 87–100.

27 Scholars debate whether medieval planners calculated the proportions from either the external or the internal perimeter of the church. My survey of Lombard churches point to the former possibility, which would make planning analogous to the tracing of an agricultural field or a house lot. The only element that was added to the perimeter was the apse. The apsidal semicircle seems to have been traced from a straight line rather than subtracting it from a rectangular shape, which would have required complex calculations. I arrived at this conclusion practically: the proportional play of Romanesque churches becomes clear once you remove their apse. For this and the popularity of two-square ground plans (it was employed in both Pisa and Salerno cathedrals as well as in Santa Maria in Gazzo and Santa Maria in Castello in Carpi) see my dissertation, *Pietre di Paragone: The Production of Spatial Order in the Twelfth-Century Lombard City* (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts-New York University, 2009), pp. 178–9 and 191–5.

28 Where the church most notably diverge from the geometric scheme Piva has found wall fragments belonging to the Early Christian baptistery and Santo Stefano church. Also: the crypt has been rebuilt in the sixteenth century. See Paolo Piva, "Il battistero paleocristiano di Piacenza," *Antiquité Tardive*, 5 (1997): 265–74 and ibid., "Architettura, 'Complementi' figurativi, spazio liturgico (secoli IV/V–XIII)," in Giancarlo Ardenna (ed.), *Storia di Cremona: dall'alto medioevo all'età comunale* (Cremona, 2004), pp. 364–445, esp. 365–6.

29 I am not the only one to have remarked on this. See Cristiano Zanetti, *La Cattedrale di Cremona: Genesi, simbologia ed evoluzione di un edificio romanico* (Cremona, 2008), pp. 117–18.

30 Ettore Casari, "Osservazioni sulla planimetria del Duomo di Modena:

Lanfranco, i quadrati, le diagonali," in Enrico Castelnuovo, Vito Fumagalli, Adriano Peroni and Salvatore Settis (eds), *Lanfranco e Wiligelmo. Il duomo di Modena* (Modena, 1984), pp. 223–7.

31 It is perhaps not by chance that 17 is the only number under 20 to which Isidore of Seville does not apply a meaning in his *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, in *PL*, 83 (Paris, 1847), col. 179–200, a short treatise on the figural meaning of every single number found in the Scriptures. The very limited allegorical appeal of the number is also discussed in Heinz Meyer and Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexicon der Mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (München, 1987), pp. 661–4.

32 A list of all the manuscripts of the Corpus has also been published in Lucio Toneatto, *Codices artis mensoriae: I manoscritti degli antichi opuscoli latini d'agrimensura (V^e–XIX^e sec.)* (3 vols, Spoleto, 1994–95).

33 Evgeny A. Zaitsev, "The Meaning of Early Medieval Geometry," *Isis*, 90/3 (1999): 522–3.

34 Gerbert d'Aurillac, *Opera Mathematica*, ed. Nicholas Bubnov (new edn, Hildesheim, 1963), 2.5: "Aut enim longitudo, aut latitudo, vel certe crassitudo … metiendo indagatur."

35 Ibid., 6.5 (pp. 91–2). See also Kurt Vogel, "L'Aritmetica e la Geometria di Gerberto," in Michele Tosi (ed.), *Gerberto: Scienza, storia e mito* (Bobbio, 1985), pp. 577–96, esp. 594.

36 Gerbert, *Opera*, pp. 60–61.

37 Naples, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele III: V.A.13. See Toneatto, *Codices*, vol. 1, pp. 150–51.

38 For both letters: Fritz Weigle, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (Berlin, 1966), n. 8 and n. 130, pp. 31 (3–5) and 158 (2–3). On the former letter see also Toneatto, *Codices*, vol. 1, p. 198. On the latter, Gerbert, *Opera*, pp. 43–5.

39 Menso Folkerts and Alphonse J.E.M. Smeur, "A Treatise on the Squaring of the Circle by Franco of Liège, of about 1050," *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 26/99 (1976): 59–105 and 225–53, esp. 232 and 247. See also Paul Tannery, "La géométrie au XI^e siècle," in *Mémoires scientifiques* (17 vols, Toulouse, 1887–1921), vol. 5, pp. 79–102.

40 Marco Rossi, *La rotonda di Brescia* (Milan, 2004), p. 25.

Chapter 2
The Geometry of Rib Vaulting at Notre-Dame of Paris: Architectural or Exegetical Space?

Stefaan Van Liefferinge

Early in the 1160s work began on the construction of a new cathedral for the chapter and the bishop of Paris, a vast building conveying grandeur, order, and prestige. Building Notre-Dame demanded perseverance and took about 100 years.[1] Its oldest parts correspond to the lower level of the chevet to the east.[2] When construction started, the episcopal institution of Notre-Dame included a large and important community of canons who lived around the building site.[3] From their houses on the north, the canons must have observed how the enormous chevet rose; from his palace the bishop must have seen with satisfaction how construction progressed. In the earlier phases, the building site of Notre-Dame presented separate architectural elements. Steadily, arches, roofs, and vaults connected these masonry elements to one another. In this process, ribs played a distinct role (see Figure 2.1). Their juxtaposition and repetition structured, organized, and unified the architectural volumes. The builders developed a network, a mesh that defined the spatial geometry of the cathedral's covering.

Figure 2.1 Paris, Notre-Dame, south-side aisle, rib vaults (photograph: Stefaan Van Liefferinge)

The conspicuous role of the rib vault as an organizer of the interior space of Gothic buildings has not gone unnoticed. From the nineteenth century on, the form and function of the rib vault has been a major subject of study.[4] Architectural historians have approached the rib vault from the angle of structural needs, optical and visual effects, or medieval philosophical and religious concepts.[5] This chapter proposes to investigate rib vaulting from a different perspective. It focuses on geometrical similarities between vaulting units and a representation of a sacred structure in a Biblical exegesis of the twelfth century. More precisely, it juxtaposes a passage describing the structure of the ark of Noah by the twelfth-century Parisian theologian Hugh of Saint-Victor and the quadripartite vaulting units in the side aisles of the cathedral of Notre-Dame.[6] This chapter illustrates how, from a geometrical

perspective, the spiritual space of Hugh's ark presents analogies with the liturgical space of the architecture of a vaulting unit. It suggests that this correspondence might have played a role in the reception of rib vaults.[7]

The physical space of a Gothic church and the role of the architectural elements that define this space have been approached from many perspectives. For some scholars, the great naves of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century cathedrals were built out of necessity for larger communal spaces.[8] They believed that the construction of Gothic cathedrals was a consequence of demographics, of an increase in population and in the number of the faithful. Larger liturgical spaces were built to serve larger communities. To increase the size of the buildings, builders harnessed geometry to improve the architectural structure. From this perspective, the cathedral was a rational space. It was created through scientific innovation and engineering. This approach drew criticism because such a materialistic-demographic theory left no place for artistic creativity. Hence, other architectural historians considered that the Gothic cathedral was the expression of a change in aesthetics.[9] For these scholars, the Gothic architect was an artist who created new visual and optical effects that conveyed the spiritual essence through the physical space of the architecture. Others proposed yet another approach. The church, its decoration, and architectural elements were symbols, signs that represented concepts of faith.[10] The church edifice as a whole was structured by the religious symbolism of its architectural components. The physical space was a symbolic space. Finally, Gothic architecture has been studied from the perspective of medieval philosophy.[11] In this approach, the building was an intellectual space. While compelling, these cause-and-effect theories appear dated today because the processes or concepts they introduced have proven much more problematic than previously assumed.

Recent studies suggest a more subtle and complex relation between actual architecture and notions of space. They point towards conceptual links between social structures or institutional hierarchies and architecture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[12] Architectural imagery presented itself as a framework suitable for representing, for example, the edifice of the Church—not the physical building of the church but the community and its social structure. They also underscore the importance of written descriptions in spiritual literature that described sacred buildings, diagrams that served to better convey exegetical concepts embedded in Biblical architecture.[13] Working as mnemonic and pedagogical tools, these descriptions borrowed notions and vocabulary coming from the built environment.[14] Such visual images formed a powerful means of

communication. They formed a medium for conveying individual theological concepts as a whole.[15] In general, recent research has revealed the existence of a relationship between the physical architecture, its conception as a spiritual space, and intellectual spatial constructions that medieval theologians developed. With this in mind, one can wonder to what extent individual physical components of Gothic architectural space participated in such a relationship.

Frequently, the rib vault is mentioned as an essential element in the definition of Gothic space, and it has been discussed in the scholarly literature.[16] Hence, if this essential feature of Gothic architecture is so patent to the contemporary observer, the question might be asked what medieval users thought about it when the first Gothic structures rose. Undoubtedly, builders were aware of the new system that they used to vault their buildings, and they enthusiastically adopted this ingenious and efficient system of vaulting, but for their contemporaries who were not building professionals and who did not immediately realize the technological implications of rib vaulting, the question is difficult to answer. For example, the reception in the twelfth century of this new type of vaulting by the religious intellectuals for who this architecture was likely principally intended is unknown. Nonetheless, the implications of its introduction in to physical space must have been obvious to the user of the building and cannot have passed unnoticed.

Unfortunately, as with many features of Gothic architecture, there is a marked contrast between the interest of contemporary scholars in the rib vault and the paucity of information dating from the time of its generalized introduction in the twelfth century.[17] This dearth of sources increases the value of every piece of information helping us to understand the reception of this important architectural element, including documents outside of the scope of studies on building practice, such as the above-mentioned pedagogical and mnemonic descriptions. Among such descriptions, Hugh of Saint-Victor's representation of Noah's ark stands out.[18] The geometric diagram that this scholar created was an efficient instrument to memorize the spiritual meaning of the ark.[19] Moreover, his writing also provides us with information on how an intellectual from the first half of the twelfth century understood the architectural geometry of a built structure.[20]

Hugh was a member of the abbey of Saint-Victor, a community that maintained close connections with the cathedral and the chapter of Notre-Dame throughout its history. It was founded in 1113 on the location of a small oratory where a few years earlier William of Champeaux, archdeacon of Notre-Dame, had sought refuge.[21] The abbey on the left bank of the Seine, just outside of the medieval city,

became a retreat for bishops and prelates who sought a calmer atmosphere away from the tumultuous life around the cathedral and its schools. In the years following its foundation, Saint-Victor increased its power inside of the cathedral chapter, obtaining more and more privileges for its members.[22] Moreover, prelates of Notre-Dame, such as the chancellor Peter Comestor or the bishop Maurice de Sully, retired at Saint-Victor.[23] The importance of the abbey of Saint-Victor also appeared through its international appeal. Hugh had traveled from Saxony to join the community; one of his pupils, Richard of Saint-Victor, was a Scot.[24]

While the power and international appeal of the Victorines increased, their foundation became a center for meditation and study. During the twelfth century, theology was at the center of Victorine work. Hugh, for example, produced an impressive corpus on theology. He innovated in Biblical exegesis by developing a particular method that revealed an interest in architecture.[25] For him, the work of a theologian could be compared to a master mason erecting walls.[26] History formed the foundation on which the theologian needed to construct his exegesis course-by-course like the architect his building. Compared to his contemporary theologians, Hugh revealed a somewhat uncommon consideration for architecture, a mechanical art not intended for the intellectual. Furthermore, he saw the liberal arts, including geometry, as tools useful for gaining insight into Scripture.

The Victorine master described his method in his *Didascalicon*, a scholarly manual introducing his concepts on the education of a theologian.[27] The treatise was divided into two sections. The first section introduced the seven liberal arts and their organization. The *Didascalicon* explained the origins of these branches of knowledge, and their respective field of inquiry. Three of them, the *trivium*, were concerned with written and verbal skills, the four others, the *quadrivium*, with mathematical knowledge.[28] Furthermore, Hugh made a parallel between the liberal arts and seven disciplines that he classified as the mechanical arts.[29] Contrary to the liberal arts these disciplines related to practical skills. One of them was armament.[30] It included architecture because a building provided a shield from the elements.

For Hugh, gaining knowledge about the arts, whether liberal or mechanical, was an integral part of a theological education. This became clear in the *Didascalicon*'s second section dedicated to theology.[31] In this section, the Victorine master presented three different levels of interpretation of Scripture: historical, allegorical, and moral or tropological. Each stage deserved careful consideration. This section on theology contained many references to the arts, especially for the historical interpretation of passages from the Bible.[32]

Theologians needed education in the liberal arts to master technical aspects of facts and objects described in the Bible.

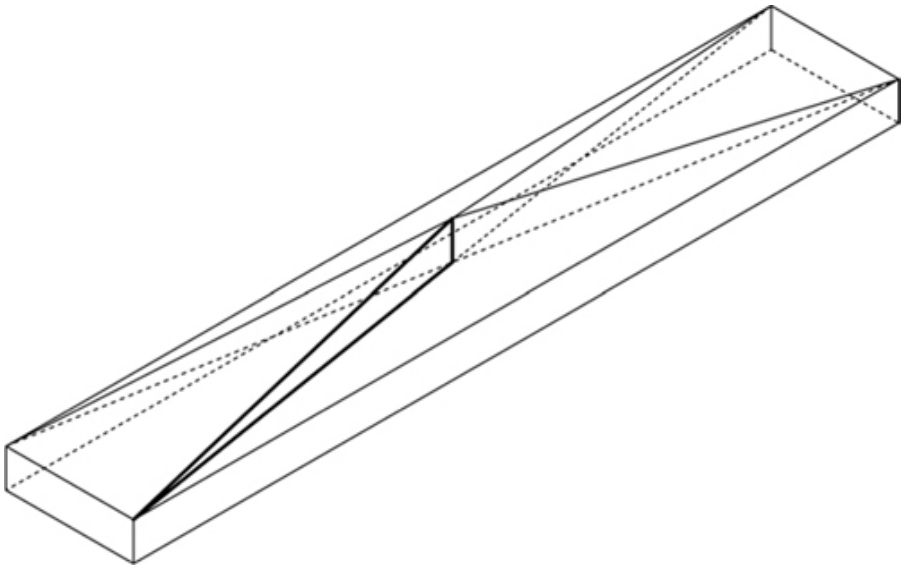


Figure 2.2 Overall geometry of the ark following Hugh of Saint-Victor (Stefaan Van Liefferinge)

Using this conceptual framework, Hugh studied the physical structure of Noah's ark.[33] He analyzed the shape of the Biblical vessel.[34] He did not illustrate his treatise with drawings of the ark, but his description was detailed enough to envision the structure he described (see Figure 2.2).[35] For him, the ark consisted of an oblong box with a roof shaped as a pyramid on a rectangular base.[36] It had gates on its side, and its interior was subdivided into six levels, one corresponding to the deck of the boat. In the center of this deck stood a mast, and from each corner of the deck long wooden rafters ran along the four ribs of the pyramidal roof toward the top of this mast.[37] The boat with which Noah braved the flood was a wooden pyramid on an oblong hull resembling a gigantic barge.

Furthermore, besides the overall shape of the ark, Hugh was also interested in the dimensions of the vessel. Scripture offered the general dimensions of the ark's width and length, but did not specify the size of its individual components. Hugh determined their dimensions with a mathematical formula, the Pythagorean Theorem.[38] This theorem made possible the computation of the length of any side of a right-angled triangle if the size of the two other sides was known. For the ark, it revealed the length of the diagonal of the deck, and, using half this diagonal, the length of the four rafters corresponding to the ribs of the pyramidal structure (see Figure 2.2).[39] Hence, Hugh

mastered the size of each of the structural constituents of the ark, and could compute every component of the geometry of this pyramid. Geometrically, he constructed the ark. It was a box with a pyramid on top.

Hugh wrote his analysis of the ark about 35 years before Bishop Maurice de Sully started the construction of the cathedral of Notre-Dame of Paris in the early 1160s.[40] Probably in the late 1160s or early 1170s, the complete lower level of its chevet was finished.[41] At the time of its construction, Notre-Dame was an ambitious building enterprise. Equipped with double side aisles and a double ambulatory, the width of Notre-Dame's chevet is close to 30 meters, that of the nave about 12 meters, and the vaults of the choir ascend about 32 meters.

The chevet is regular and precisely laid out. The outer side aisles consist of a sequence of vaulting units that, except for the first bay that opens into the transept, stand on a square plan. Each of these individual spaces participates in a repetitive pattern of volumes forming the overall interior space of the building. At the ground level, the plinths of the supports are chamfered, echoing the diagonals created by the ribs of the vaults.

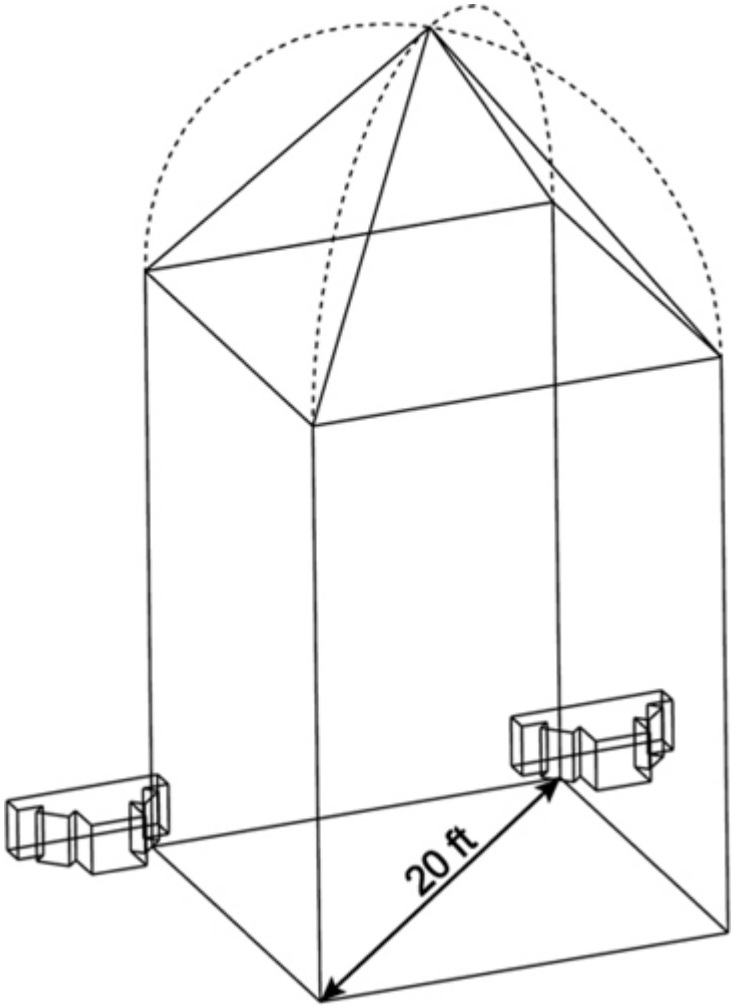


Figure 2.3 Overall geometry of a vaulting unit of the outer side aisles of Notre-Dame (Stefaan Van Liefferinge)

It is noteworthy that in the vaulting units of the outer side aisles, the diagonal distance between plinths corresponds to 6.5 meters.[42] Translated into the units that were likely used when this building was erected, this corresponds to 20 royal feet (see Figure 2.3). This dimension hints that it was the builder's intention to work with whole figures for the diagonals of the vaulting units. This was probably a deliberate choice to standardize the dimensions of diagonal semicircular ribs.[43] Their span, 10 feet, was a whole figure, easy to communicate to the stonecutters carving the individual voussoirs and to the carpenters preparing the forms for the ribs. It systematized and serialized the production of the vaults, facilitating the creation of a space structured by repetitive, regular units.

The dimensions in the chevet of Notre-Dame show that the

builders used round figures, practical measurements to produce the desired result. Each of these dimensions was determined by means of geometry, the science that Hugh employed to understand the shape of Noah's ark. However, it is unlikely that ordinary laborers using practical solutions for the construction of structures in stone had any interest in, or knowledge of, Hugh's conceptions on the ark. At the same time, as demonstrated by his sophisticated math, the theologian appears to have possessed a higher intellectual level than a builder in the field. The practical, unsophisticated though efficient methods used in the field were remote from Hugh's theoretical approach.[44] However, the use of geometry in Notre-Dame's architecture suggests the involvement of elite masons or the educated clergy in the conception of the building.

Despite their different purpose, conceptual parallels existed between architecture and intellectual exercises performed by scholars.[45] For example, Hugh represented himself as an architect who used writing to produce a visual structure for his audience.[46] When approached from the angle of design, methodological similarities emerge between Hugh's elaboration of the diagram of the salvific vessel and the creation of actual buildings. Such parallels have been, for example, observed in the plan of Amiens cathedral.[47] Amiens suggests the adoption of Hugh's method for architectural design about one century after its elaboration for the study of the ark.

Some scholars have cautiously proposed that the mental images that Hugh of Saint-Victor created altered the reception of actual architecture for the beholder educated in his methods.[48] If confirmed, such suggestion could bear on our understanding of the reception of rib vaults.[49] Indeed, from a geometrical perspective, the shape that Hugh conceived for the ark and the design of the quadripartite vaults in the side aisles of Notre-Dame present similarities. When rendering the chords of the rib segments, the geometry of a vaulting unit is similar to Hugh's ark, a square pyramid on top of a box (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3).

Hugh died in 1141, about 20 years before work on Notre-Dame started. While he never saw the rib vaults of Notre-Dame it is probable that some of his pupils, such as Richard, saw the architectural skeleton of the cathedral rising on the construction site. Possibly, the geometry of the vaulting units reminded Richard of the geometry of the ark that he had learned from his master.[50] Each vaulting unit might have evoked Hugh's representation of the ark. The resulting architecture may have had a significance beyond its simple structure, offering the beholder a three-dimensional diagram in stone.[51]

It is difficult to conceive that medieval users of the cathedral space, including the intellectuals of the schools in Paris, did not

speculate upon the significant implications that ribs introduced into buildings. At Notre-Dame, like at Saint-Denis but on a vaster scale, the overtly reticulated pattern produced by the ribs could not be overlooked.[52] It is likely that such profound aesthetic change was discussed and debated among the users of the architecture. However, the sources of the twelfth century are almost completely silent. Gervase so admired Canterbury's new vaults that he mentions them often in his account, but, in his text, he only briefly and vaguely describes them. I have turned to Hugh's text because of the paucity of twelfth-century documentation of the reception of the rib vault, and because of certain similarities between his conception of the ark and the geometry of vaulting units. The resemblance between the geometry of both structures suggests a visual commonplace. It may have contributed to a positive reception of the aesthetic that this new architectural element introduced into the space of the cathedral. Certainly, the principal reasons for the introduction of rib vaults will be found elsewhere, for example, in the need for serializing building components. Nonetheless, even if the rationale for introducing ribs into church architecture lies in the domain of building practice, a geometrical correspondence with a Biblical structure certainly did not harm, and could have increased, the aesthetic value of the physical structure. Finally, the parallels between a quadripartite rib vaulting unit and Hugh's description of the ark might signal an increased interest for individual components of built structures. Hugh emphasized each constituent element of the ark; ribs underline essential geometric components of vaulting units. This emphasis on structure and geometry produced a new visual experience in the interior space of the cathedral. Rib vaults reinforced the legibility of the architecture and, possibly, through their resemblance with the structure of the ark introduced another semantic layer into the space of the cathedral.[53]

1 Marcel Aubert, *Notre-Dame de Paris, sa place dans l'histoire de l'architecture du XII^e^ au XIV^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1920), pp. 51–2; Caroline Bruzelius, "The Construction of Notre-Dame in Paris," *Art Bulletin*, 69/4 (1987): 540–69.

2 William W. Clark, "The Early Capitals of Notre-Dame de Paris," in William W. Clark (ed.), *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip: Art Historian and Detective* (New York, 1985), p. 39. The latest monograph on Notre-Dame was not yet available when the present chapter was composed, Danny Sandron and Andrew Tallon, *Notre-Dame de Paris: neuf siècles d'histoire* (Paris, 2013).

3 Thierry Crépin-Leblond, "Recherche sur les palais épiscopaux en France au Moyen Âge (XII^e^–XIII^e^ siècles)," (Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des chartes, Paris, 1987), pp. 229–30; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (New York, 1998), pp. 43–8; Benjamin Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* (3 vols, Paris, 1850), vol. 1, pp. lvi–ccxxxv; Philippe Lorentz and Danny Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge: espace urbain, habitat, société, religion, lieux de pouvoir* (Paris, 2006), pp. 116–25.

4 Norbert Nußbaum and Sabine Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe* (München, 1999).

5 Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, ed Paul Crossley (new edn, New Haven, 2000); Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, 1951); Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle* (10 vols, Paris, 1854–68), vol. 6.

6 Hugh composed two works on the ark, *De archa Noe* and *Libellus de formatione arche*. For an edition of both, see Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Archa Noe. Libellus de formatione Arche*, ed. Patrice Sicard, Corpus Christianorum—Continuatio Medievalis, 176 (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 3–117 and 121–62. For a translation of the second, Jessica Weiss, "Hugh of St. Victor, A Little Book About Constructing Noah's Ark," in Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 41–70. On Hugh's conception of the ark, Grover A. Zinn, "Hugh of St. Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look," *Church History*, 40/3 (1971): 261–72; Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 243–6.

7 On the elite art in the twelfth century and its reception at Saint-Denis, Conrad Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St Denis: Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy over Art* (Princeton, 1990); Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," *Art Bulletin*, 93/4 (2011): 399–422.

8 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "De la construction des édifices religieux en France depuis le commencement du christianisme jusqu'au XVI^e^ siècle," *Annales Archéologiques*, 2 (1845): 147–9 and 340; ibid., *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle* (10 vols, Paris, 1854–68), vol. 6, p. 431.

9 Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, ed Paul Crossley (new edn, New Haven, 2000), pp. 9, 12, 48–9. See also Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, 1960), pp. 821–2.

10 Martin Büchsel, "Ecclesiae symbolorum cursus completus," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, 9 (1983): 69–88; Paul Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: the Limits of Iconography," *The Burlington Magazine*, 130/1019 (1988): 116–21; Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters. Mit Berüksichtigung von Honorius Augustodunensis, Sicardus und Durandus* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1902); Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (Princeton, 1956).

11 Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, 1951), pp. 45–8. For a critical discussion, Erik Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean de Jandun's 'Tractatus de laudibus Parisius' (1323)," *Gesta*, 42/1 (2003): 63–85. See

also Paul Binski, “Working by Words Alone: The Architects, Scholasticism and Rhetoric in Thirteenth-century France,” in Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 14–51.

12 Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l’Eglise au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2006), pp. 400–403.

13 Patrice Sicard, *Diagrammes médiévaux et exégèse visuelle. Le libellus de formatione arche de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1993).

14 Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 43–4, 234; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 24; Patrice Sicard, “L’urbanisme de la cité de Dieu: constructions et architectures dans la pensée théologique du XIIe siècle,” in Dominique Poirel (ed.), *L’abbé Suger, le manifeste gothique de Saint-Denis et la pensée victorienne. Actes du colloque organisé à la fondation Singer-Polignac le mardi 21 novembre 2000* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 128–9.

15 Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu*, p. 464; Sicard, *Diagrammes*, pp. 141–92 esp. 160.

16 Nußbaum and Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe*.

17 Gervase mentions vaults and Suger arches. Gervase of Canterbury, *On the Burning and Repair of the Church of Canterbury in the Year 1174*, trans. Charles Cotton (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 17–18; Jochen Schröder, *Gervasius von Canterbury, Richard von Saint-Victor und die Methodik der Bauerfassung im 12. Jahrhundert* (2 vols, Cologne, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 21–146 and 326–70; Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 109 and 224–6.

18 Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Archa Noe*, pp. 18–23.

19 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 234; Stephen Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 42; Sicard, “L’urbanisme,” pp. 128–9. Grover A. Zinn, “Hugh of Saint-Victor and the Art of Memory,” *Viator*, 5 (1974): 232.

20 His method influenced the following generation. Richard of Saint-Victor wrote an exegesis on the heavenly Temple as described in the Vision of Ezekiel. Translated in German in Schröder, *Gervasius von Canterbury, Richard von Saint-Victor*.

21 Robert-Henri Bautier, “Les origines et premiers développements de l’abbaye Saint-Victor de Paris,” in Jean Longère (ed.), *L’abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge. Communications présentées au XIIIe colloque d’humanisme médiéval de Paris (1986–1988)* (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 29–30; Jacques Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris. De la fin du siège de 885–886 à la mort de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1976), pp. 209–21.

22 Bautier, “Les origines et premiers développements,” pp. 30–52.

23 Ibid., p. 52; Victor Mortet, “Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris (1160–1196). Étude sur l’administration épiscopale pendant la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle,” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France*, 16 (1889): 275–6; *Petri Comestoris Scolastica Historia: Liber Genesis*, ed. Agneta Sylwan, Corpus christianorum—Continuatio Medievalis, 191 (Turnhout, 2005), p. xiii.

24 Jean Châtillon, “Richard de Saint-Victor,” in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* (Paris, 1988), pp. 593–654; Dominque Poirel, *Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1998), pp. 30–32; Schröder, *Gervasius von Canterbury, Richard von Saint-Victor*, pp. 155–6; Patrice Sicard, *Hugues de Saint-Victor et son école* (Turnhout, 1991); Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1952), pp. 106–11.

25 For a list, see Damien Van Den Eynde, *Essai sur la succession et la date des écrits de Hugues de Saint-Victor, Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani* (Rome, 1960); Poirel, *Hugues de Saint-Victor*.

26 Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi: Studienbuch*, ed. Thilo

Offergeld, Fontes Christiani, 27 (Freiburg, 1997), 6.4; Sicard, "L'urbanisme," p. 119.

27 Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon*, 6.4.

28 The *quadrivium* including geometry is described in *Didascalicon*, 2.3, 2.6–17.

29 Ibid., 2.20–27.

30 Ibid., 2.22.

31 Ibid., 4–6.

32 Ibid., 6.3.

33 Composed 1125–30, see the table in Van Den Eynde, *Essai sur la succession*, p. 214.

34 Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Archa Noe*, pp. 18–23. For a translation, Frederick A. Homann, *Practical Geometry* (Milwaukee, 1991), pp. 85–6.

35 None of the extant manuscripts contains drawings of Hugh's description of the ark. For a list of these manuscripts, see Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Archa Noe*, pp. 29*–69*. Some scholars, including Conrad Rudolph, believe that Hugh of Saint-Victor had a real diagram produced—possibly in the cloister.

36 Based on Origen's description of the ark, see Zinn, "Hugh of St. Victor and the Ark," pp. 261–72.

37 Homann, *Practical Geometry*, p. 86.

38 Included in, for example, Gerbert of Aurillac's geometrical treatise from the late tenth century, Nikolaus M. Bubnov, *Gerberti opera mathematica (972–1003)* (Hildesheim, 1963 [1899]), pp. 82–3.

39 Homann, *Practical Geometry*, pp. 85–6.

40 Bruzelius, "The Construction of Notre-Dame," p. 543, n. 19, p. 547; Clark, "The Early Capitals of Notre-Dame de Paris," p. 39.

41 Bruzelius, "The Construction of Notre-Dame," p. 555.

42 The distance between the plinths of the inner side aisles cannot be measured because of the presence of the choir enclosure and stalls.

43 As Crosby observed at Saint-Denis, see Crosby, *The Royal Abbey*, pp. 257–8. On building aspects of rib vaults see Nußbaum and Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe*, pp. 63–7.

44 Lon R. Shelby, "The Geometrical Knowledge of Medieval Master Masons," *Speculum*, 47/3 (1972): 395–421.

45 On Pierre de Celle and Saint-Remi in Reims, see Anne Prache, *Saint-Remi de Reims: l'œuvre de Pierre de Celles et sa place dans l'architecture gothique* (Paris, 1978), pp. 40–41.

46 Sicard, "L'urbanisme," pp. 127–9.

47 Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens*, pp. 42–3, 191, n. 55.

48 Sicard, "L'urbanisme," pp. 129–30. Nußbaum and Lepsky indicate the limits of such comparisons, Nußbaum and Lepsky, *Das gotische Gewölbe*, p. 201, n. 738.

49 On the demand for and reception of art by an increasing educated elite in the twelfth century, Rudolph, "Inventing," pp. 399–422.

50 Some drawings in Richard's literal exegesis on Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple appear based on actual architecture. Walter Cahn, "Architectural Draftsmanship in Twelfth-Century Paris: The Illustration of Richard of Saint-Victor's Commentary on Ezekiel's Temple Vision," *Gesta*, 15/1–2 (1976): 247–54; ibid., "Architecture and Exegesis: Richard of St. Victor's Ezekiel Commentary and Its Illustrations," *Art Bulletin*, 76/1 (1994): 53–68.

51 Sicard, "L'urbanisme," p. 130.

52 Saint-Denis was built about 20 years before Notre-Dame, Sumner McKnight Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: From its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151* (New Haven, 1987), pp. 215–65. See also, William W. Clark and Thomas G.

Waldman, “Money, Stone, Liturgy, and Planning at the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis,” in Robert Bork, William W. Clark, and Abby McGehee (eds), *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 74–5.

53 On top of the many mentioned in Crossley, “Medieval Architecture and Meaning,” pp. 116–21, esp. p. 121.

Chapter 3
Gothic Drawing and the Shaping of Space

Robert Bork

Gothic buildings shape space in ways that contribute greatly to their aesthetic and emotional power. The soaring proportions of their interior spaces, for example, urge visitors' gazes upwards into a realm far above the spaces of everyday life, suggesting a transcendence of human limitations. The surging forms of their towers and spires, similarly, establish implied vertical axes between the earth and the heavens, while at the same time creating boldly visible place markers that often coincided with urban centers. Most Gothic monuments also convey feelings of organic growth and restless striving, leading the great art historian Paul Frankl to describe Gothic as "an architecture of becoming."[1] More analytically, Frankl observed that Gothic monuments often exhibit the formal characteristics that he called diagonality and partiality.[2] Criss-crossing vault ribs dynamically subdivide their interior spaces, while their complex exteriors recall the faceted forms of mineral crystals. Modern minerologists understand in minute detail the processes that generate such natural crystals, but architectural historians have not yet achieved a comparable level of precision in their study of Gothic form. One way to address this problem is to examine Gothic design drawings, the "blueprints" produced by the men who actually conceived these remarkable structures. Such study can provide a surprisingly intimate perspective on the medieval creative process. More specifically, this approach can help to reveal the ways in which drawing conventions could both reflect and constrain medieval approaches to architectural space.

Gothic spaces are psychologically and formally compelling in part because they arose, as this chapter will demonstrate, from a drawing-based and fundamentally non-spatial approach to architectural design. The overwhelming majority of surviving workshop drawings from the period are plans or elevations that provide precise information about

two dimensions, rather than attempting to capture three-dimensional spatial relations.[3] It was the intersection between the forms depicted in plan and elevation that defined the shape of the built volumes. In a very real sense, therefore, Gothic architectural spaces emerged as by-products of this bi-planar design process, instead of being conceived as fundamental quantities around which the architectural envelope would be shaped. This is not to say, of course, that builders and draftsmen of the era were uninterested in space, or insensitive to spatial effects. The designers of great French cathedrals surely appreciated the vertiginous quality of the interior spaces they created, and the designers of later German hall churches clearly understood that their complex vault schemes could produce dazzling spatial effects when constructed in three dimensions.[4] These aesthetic impulses, though, were channeled into architecture through a design process based on the play of geometry in two dimensions, in the planes described by the ground plan and elevation. In the Italian Renaissance, by contrast, three-dimensional spaces often had greater conceptual priority, as the concluding section of this chapter will show.

The study of drawings helps to reveal this interplay between design practices and the perception of space, while simultaneously demonstrating that the geometrical fundamentals of the Gothic design process remained remarkably consistent for more than three centuries. The pattern of drawing survival over this interval, of course, was quite uneven; many more original design drawings remain from the fifteenth century than from earlier periods. And, while hundreds of drawings have been preserved in the German-speaking world, especially in Vienna, only a few survive from the French territories that occupy center stage in this volume.[5] Even so, there is good reason to associate the emergence of the Gothic style with the refinement of architectural drawing practices. The complexity and sophistication of buildings like Sens Cathedral or Suger's Saint-Denis strongly suggest that drawings were used in their conception, though no original design drawings survive from this first phase of the Gothic era. The oldest extant Gothic drawings, or at least the oldest closely related to design practice, are detail studies scratched into the stone surfaces of several French and English buildings in the 1190s. Rosette patterns, for example, appear at Soissons Cathedral, Byland Abbey, and the church of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux at Châlons-en-Champagne, while pier profiles can be found at Jervaulx Abbey in Yorkshire.[6] Because most of these are drawn at full scale, they appear to be close cousins of the templates that would have been used to cut stones for construction. For this reason, Robert Branner argued in a fundamental 1963 article that Gothic drawing practice originally arose in the context of stone-

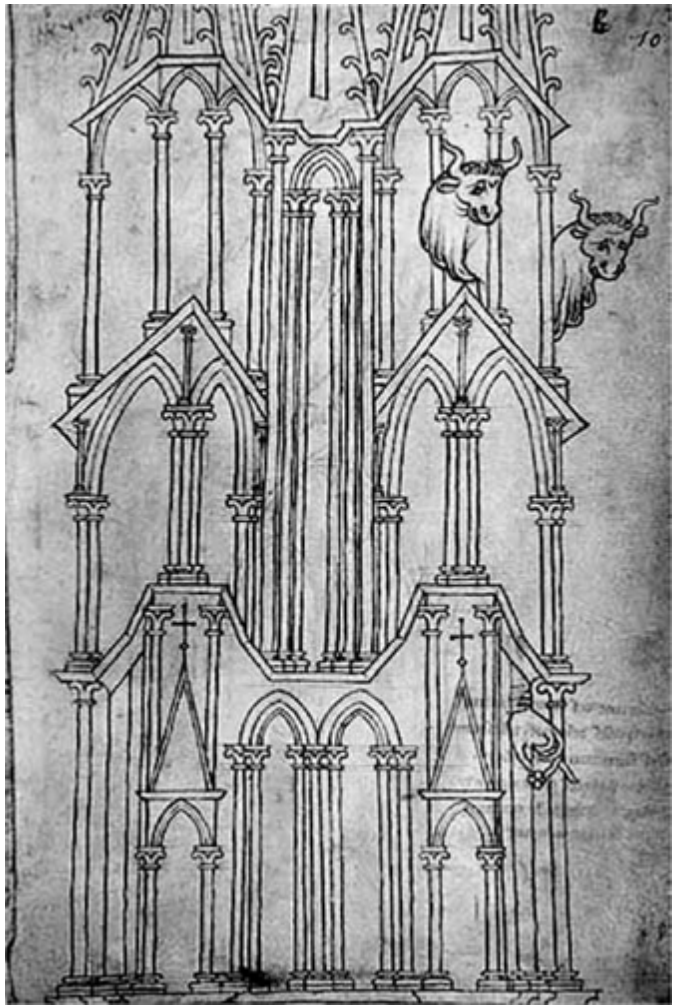
working, as detail forms grew too complicated to cut without carefully drawing up templates ahead of time.[7] It was not until the early thirteenth century, according to Branner, that drawing migrated from the worksite into the drafting studio, from stone onto parchment, and from full to reduced scale. This development, in turn, made it practical to draw whole buildings in plan and elevation, rather than just their small component pieces.

In the following pages, four examples from the history of French architectural drawing will help to reveal both the nature and the continuity of Gothic design practice. The famous portfolio of drawings produced by Villard de Honnecourt clearly demonstrates that comprehensive drawing-based planning of Gothic churches was already well underway in the early thirteenth century. The slightly later but considerably more precise drawings in the so-called Reims Palimpsest, similarly, attest to the early use of geometrical design strategies that would remain current until the end of the Middle Ages. The case of Strasbourg Plan B, a drawing produced in the 1270s, illustrates both the strengths and the weaknesses of the bi-planar approach to design seen in the Gothic era, which could generate formal solutions whose three-dimensional implications might escape even the draftsmen themselves. An elaborate facade drawing produced in Clermont-Ferrand, finally, shows that this bi-planar approach was still in use around 1500, even as more spatially based design strategies were being developed in Italy. The contrast between these methods of form generation helps to explain the aesthetic divergence between the Gothic and Renaissance architectural modes.

The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt

The portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt provides some of the earliest graphic documentation of Gothic design practice, although the precise nature Villard's relationship to this design tradition remains enigmatic.[8] His portfolio includes a wide range of architectural drawings alongside an even wider range of non-architectural material, including images of humans, animals, and machines. Even among the architectural drawings, there are divergences in representational technique. Some show template-like cross-sections of individual building elements, like the column and mullion cross sections from Reims Cathedral. Others show ground plans of entire church choirs, or even, in one case, the plan of an entire Cistercian church. Villard also produced complete interior and exterior elevations and sections of the Reims Cathedral choir. All of these examples present purely objective information about the projection of the architecture into the

horizontal or the vertical plane. In this respect they resemble most of the design drawings that survive from the later Middle Ages, although Villard's are looser and sketchier, without the ruler-drawn precision typical of the later workshop tradition. Some of Villard's other drawings differ even more radically from that tradition by prominently featuring information about the third dimension, appealing to the subjective viewpoint of the beholder. A sketch of a clock tower, for example, presents a pseudo-perspectival exterior view of the structure. Villard's interior and exterior views of the chapels from Reims Cathedral have baselines that curve downwards and upwards, respectively, suggesting their concave and convex spatial profiles. Branner saw this variety of representational styles as evidence that Gothic conventions of drawing practice had not yet fully crystallized in Villard's day. But Branner and most previous scholars had assumed that Villard was a designer, a view that has been effectively challenged in recent decades by Carl Barnes, who argues convincingly that Villard was not an architectural professional.[9] His strategies of architectural representation, therefore, may not precisely reflect the practices of contemporary designers. As the Reims mullion and pier sections demonstrate, though, he clearly had "behind the scenes" access to some of the greatest Gothic workshops of his day.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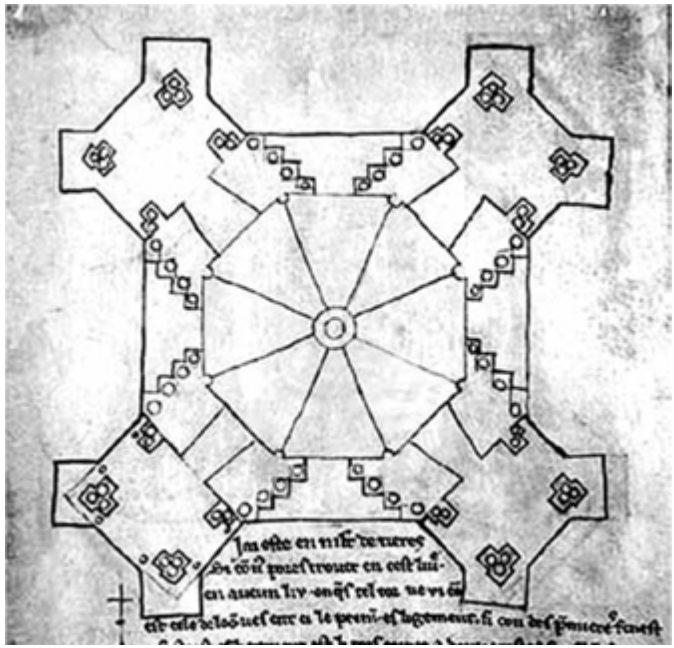


Figure 3.1 Plan and exterior view of Laon Cathedral tower, from folios 9v and 10r of the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Fr 19093)

Valuable insight into Villard's relationship to the architectural profession can be gained from geometrical analysis of his plan and exterior view of a tower from Laon Cathedral, drawings that embody two distinct approaches to the representation of space (see Figure 3.1).[10]

The plan makes no pretense of showing anything other than a two-dimensional slice through the tower. The exterior view, on the other hand, includes prominent pseudo-perspectival depth cues, which most genuine Gothic design drawings do not.[11] The top edges of the lower tabernacles, for example, are presented as steeply raked diagonals, as they would appear when seen from below. And, while the plan appears at least roughly accurate in its overall proportions, the exterior view appears grossly distorted when compared to the actual tower: the tabernacles and the sculpted oxen standing within them appear too large, while the central tower window appears too narrow. The exterior view also includes a large hand near its lower right edge, an element that appears nowhere in the real structure. All of these unusual features suggest that the exterior view was less dependent than the plan on original design drawings that Villard could have seen while visiting the Laon Cathedral workshop. Geometrical analysis of Villard's two drawings confirms this impression, while also demonstrating that even the exterior view has more geometrical

coherence than has usually been supposed.

It makes sense to begin geometrical investigation of Villard's Laon tower drawings with the plan, since its symmetry makes it comparatively easy to analyze. In theory, at least, the plan can be inscribed within a square. The imprecision of Villard's draftsmanship muddies these waters somewhat, since he drew salient buttresses of slightly unequal lengths, but the size of the central octagon in the plan offers a valuable clue to the intended scale of the whole composition. This central octagon can be inscribed within a square, as the darkly shaded areas in the upper right portion of Figure 3.2 indicate. Scaling up by means of quadrature, or square rotation, one finds that a square twice as long on each side almost perfectly frames the tower and its salient buttresses. This outer square also frames a rotated square whose diagonal sides touch the corners of the original darkly shaded areas. When this intermediate square is rotated back into alignment with the cardinal axes of the tower, it defines a lightly shaded area in the figure matching to the basic footprint of the tower body. The space between the inner octagon and the outer margins of this lightly shaded area corresponds to the thickness of the tower walls, or, equivalently, that of the salient buttresses. As the upper left of Figure 3.2 shows, the proportions of this simple scheme agree well not only with Villard's drawing, but also with the structure of the present Laon tower. This close match suggests that the geometry implied by Villard's somewhat rough plan was actually that intended by the builders of the Laon towers. This, in turn, strongly suggests that Villard's plan was directly modeled on a design drawing seen in the Laon workshop.

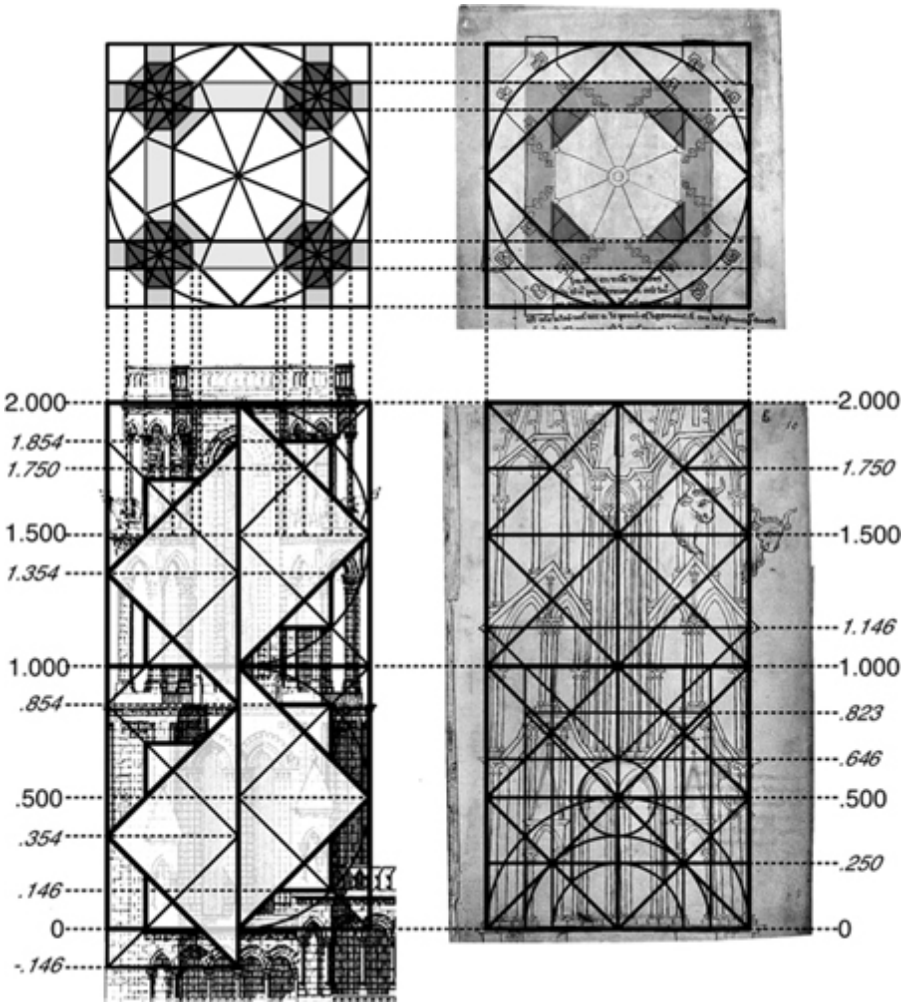


Figure 3.2 Geometrical relationship between elevation of the actual Laon tower (on lower left, redrawn by Dehio) and Villard de Honnecourt's Laon tower drawings (on right), with geometrical overlays by Bork

Villard's exterior view of the Laon tower at first appears to be distorted and impressionistic, but closer examination reveals that its geometrical structure has a surprising amount in common with the actual tower structure. To begin with, both the drawing and the actual tower elevation fit precisely within a double-square armature (see Figure 3.2, bottom).[12] In the drawing, the baseline of this double-square is the bottom of the double-window story near the base of the page, while the top of the double-square coincides with the top margin of the page. In the actual tower, the baseline is the same, while the top of the double-square marks the top edge of the octagonal aediculae; above this level there is now a balustrade added by the nineteenth-century restorer Émile Boeswillwald, but originally

this was the level where the spire and pinnacles of the tower began to taper inwards, as Villard's view of the tower exterior shows. The width of the double-square equals the span of the salient buttresses in the actual lower tower story, just as in Villard's plan drawing. If one calls this dimension one unit, then one finds that the mysterious hand along the right margin of the exterior view falls at a height of .500, or exactly half a unit. The hand seems, therefore, to serve as a geometrical marker. And, the eye level of the salient ox above falls at a height of 1.500. This relationship might be dismissed as coincidental, were it not for the fact that the oxen in the actual tower stand on platforms at the same exact level, as Figure 3.2 indicates.

In view of these similarities, Villard's exterior view cannot be dismissed as merely impressionistic. Instead, his drawing process has to have been informed by some direct knowledge of the basic proportioning scheme really used in the Laon workshop. But, in view of the many other gross differences of proportion between his drawing and the actual structure, Villard hardly seems to have been making a copy of a real workshop drawing in this instance. It is tempting to imagine that the basic idea of the double-square was communicated to him verbally by someone "in the know," but that he used his imagination when attempting to locate the details of his drawing within that simple frame. Instead of presenting strictly objective information about the structure's proportions, as a typical Gothic elevation draftsman would, Villard chose to include prominent pseudo-perspectival depth cues to suggest the spatial presence of the tower as it would have been perceived by an observer at ground level.

In sum, therefore, this short discussion of Villard's portfolio illustrates several principal points. On a very basic level, the wide range of drawings in the portfolio shows that various modes for the representation of architecture existed already in the early thirteenth century, with ground plans and elevations enjoying particular prominence. Villard was probably not a designer himself, and his drawings are less precise than most genuine workshop drawings, but the substantial degree of geometrical coherence in his Laon tower drawings shows that he was paying careful attention to information gleaned from workshop insiders. He appears to have assimilated this information in at least two different ways, however. The Laon tower plan can be plausibly interpreted as a rough copy after an original workshop drawing, and even the more scenographic exterior view has a geometrical structure that matches that of the present tower to a surprising degree, but the latter drawing includes pseudo-perspectival depth cues in a way that most genuine workshop drawings of the Gothic era did not.

The Reims Palimpsest

Consideration of the drawings in the Reims Palimpsest demonstrates that strictly planar elevations of the mature Gothic type were already being produced with high precision in the lifetime of Villard de Honnecourt. These drawings survive only as faint traces, because they were erased already by 1270, when the sheets they were drawn on were reused to record the obituary of the Reims Cathedral Chapter. Some of these traces were noticed in the nineteenth century, but it was Robert Branner who first produced reliable modern reproductions of the Palimpsest drawings in a major 1958 article.[13] Branner identified elements such as choir stall components, finials, and two facade schemes among the Palimpsest drawings. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the facade drawing shown in Figure 3.3, which has usually been dated on stylistic grounds to the years around 1225; a second facade scheme appears to date from the middle decades of the thirteenth century.[14]

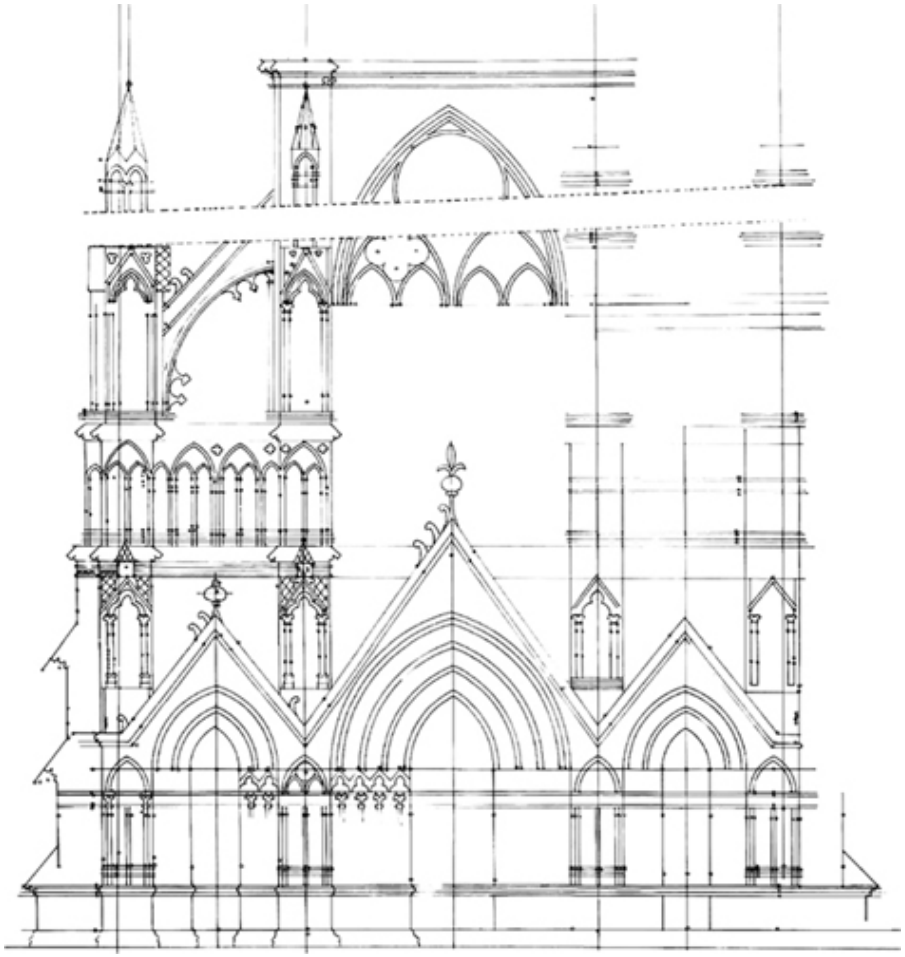


Figure 3.3 Reims Palimpsest, first facade drawing, redrawn by Stephen Murray (published with permission from Stephen Murray)

The geometrical structure of the presumably older Reims Palimpsest facade design turns out to be gratifyingly lucid, introducing compositional strategies that would recur in later Gothic elevation drawings down to the turn of the sixteenth century. Here, as in virtually all Gothic design drawings, the location of the main buttress axes played a crucial role in establishing the geometry of the facade It is convenient, therefore, to describe the width of the nave bay between these axes as one unit.

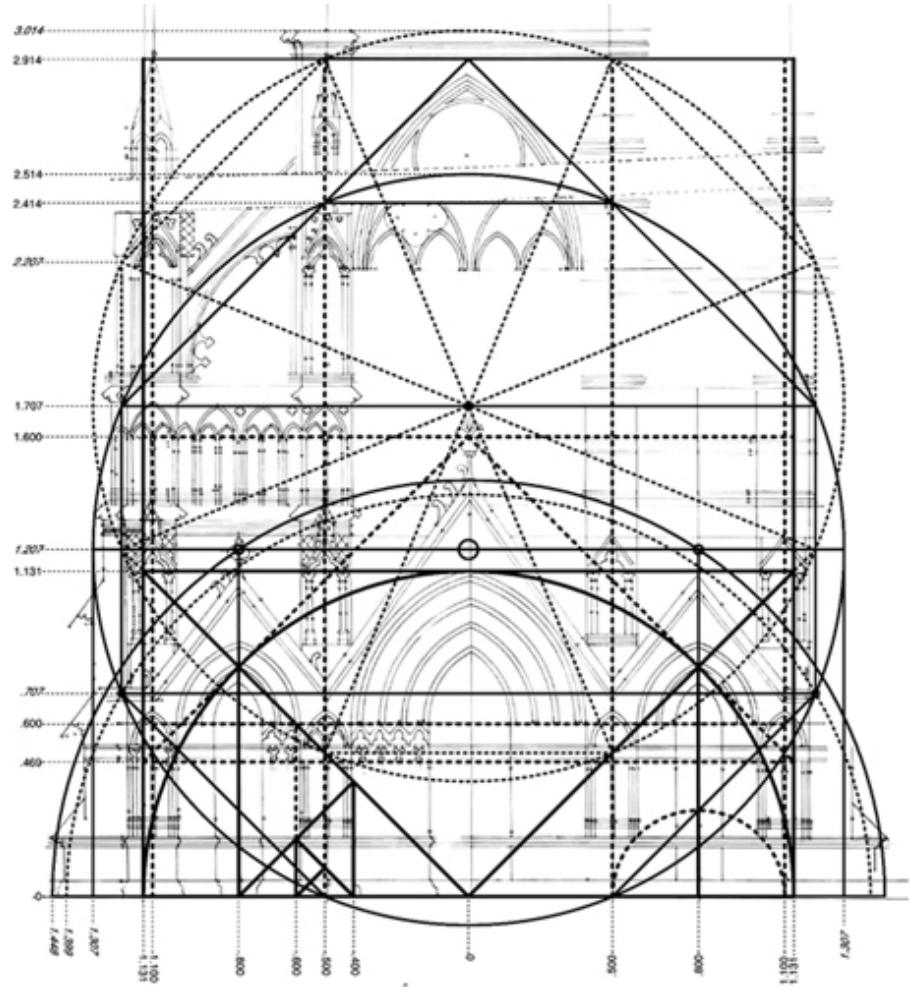


Figure 3.4 Reims Palimpsest, first facade drawing with geometrical overlay (published with permission from Stephen Murray)

Many of the most important dimensions in the first Palimpsest design, as it turns out, are based on the construction of a great octagon whose lowermost facet coincides with the baseline of the nave bay (see Figure 3.4). This octagon reaches up to height 2.414, where the tracery of the main window is interrupted by trimming, and where, more tellingly, horizontal lines subdivide the buttresses at right.[15] The upper and lower lateral corners of this great octagon fall, respectively, at height 1.707, aligned with the tips of the arches in the triforium, and at height .707, aligned with the baseline of the portal gables. Its equator falls at height 1.207, which is precisely the level at which a short horizontal line segment bisects the small oval at the tip of the aisle gable. If the upper diagonal sides of this octagon are extended, they will converge at height 2.914, which marks the top

edge of the main nave wall, just below the final cornice moldings. And if an identical great octagon is constructed with this level as its top facet, the circle circumscribed around it will rise to height 3.014, precisely defining the top edge of the cornice. The center of this octagon falls at height 1.707, as the dotted lines in the figure show. The circles circumscribed about these two large octagons have radii of 1.307 units, so that verticals framing the circles coincide with the lateral buttress margins above level .707. In both height and width, therefore, the overall proportions of this facade design derive directly from the construction of nave-based great octagon and its immediate derivatives.

As this analysis demonstrates, the creator of the first Reims Palimpsest design was using a single plane figure to set the proportions of his facade, even though the drawing depicts elements that would occupy several distinct planes in the completed structure. The gables and the front faces of the buttresses, for example, would stand in front of the main facade wall, and the great nave window would presumably have been set back still further. If the relief on the completed facade were sufficiently deep, as it was on the cathedral facades of Laon, Reims, and Amiens, the overall effect of such a design could be richly sculptural. But the surviving drawing provides no information about the third dimension as such.

Strasbourg Plan B

A complementary gloss on the relationship between Gothic drawing and shaping of space comes from analysis of the magnificent drawing known as Strasbourg Plan B, whose creation helped to set the stage for the construction of the Strasbourg Cathedral facade in the late 1270s.[16] Plan B enjoys well-deserved fame for its intricacy, since it introduced a whole host of innovative detail motifs that would enjoy popularity throughout the remainder of the Gothic era, especially in the German-speaking world. Significantly, though, the upper portion of the drawing is rendered far more crudely than its lower section, and in different ink than the rest. Figure 3.5 illustrates the contrast between the presumably original lower section, at left, and the full Plan B scheme, at right. The upper portion of the drawing has often been seen as a late addition, not only because of the obvious distinction in drafting style, but also because the spire zone includes features that appear convincingly foreshortened. The lateral facets of the spire drums are smaller than the front faces by a factor of $\sqrt{2}$, just as they should be if they were meant to represent the diagonal facets of an octagonally symmetrical structure. The pointed arches in these

lateral facets are pinched inwards correspondingly. The accuracy of this projection has suggested to some scholars that advanced proto-perspectival rendering techniques must have been used to create the spire zone of Plan B.[17] Geometrical analysis shows, though, that the relationship between the upper and lower portions of the drawing was far closer than has usually been assumed. The interruption in the production of Plan B, moreover, can be understood in this geometrical context as the result of some confusion on the designer's part about the three-dimensional implications of his work.

The most crucial clues about the production history of Strasbourg Plan B are to be found in the zone where the spire drum, which belongs in terms of drafting style to the upper part of the drawing, sits flanked by pinnacle doublets that belong to the more carefully drawn lower section (see Figure 3.6). The span between the inner faces of these pinnacle doublets turns out to be a fundamental dimension in the drawing, here called one unit. A square of this dimension framed by the doublets and sitting on the top edge of the boxy tower story rises up to a level where the shafts of the pinnacles start to taper, here called height 1.000. In the middle of this square, at height .500, there is a prominent compass prick. This may well have been used to construct a circle circumscribing the square, so that a rotated square of the same dimension could be established. The upper tip of this rotated square falls at height 1.207, where the pinnacle doublets terminate. The lateral tips of this rotated square fall .707 units out from the tower centerline, directly above the lateral faces of the boxy tower story. It is abundantly clear, even from these simple relationships, that a geometry based on mutually rotated squares governed the layout of Plan B's presumably original lower section.

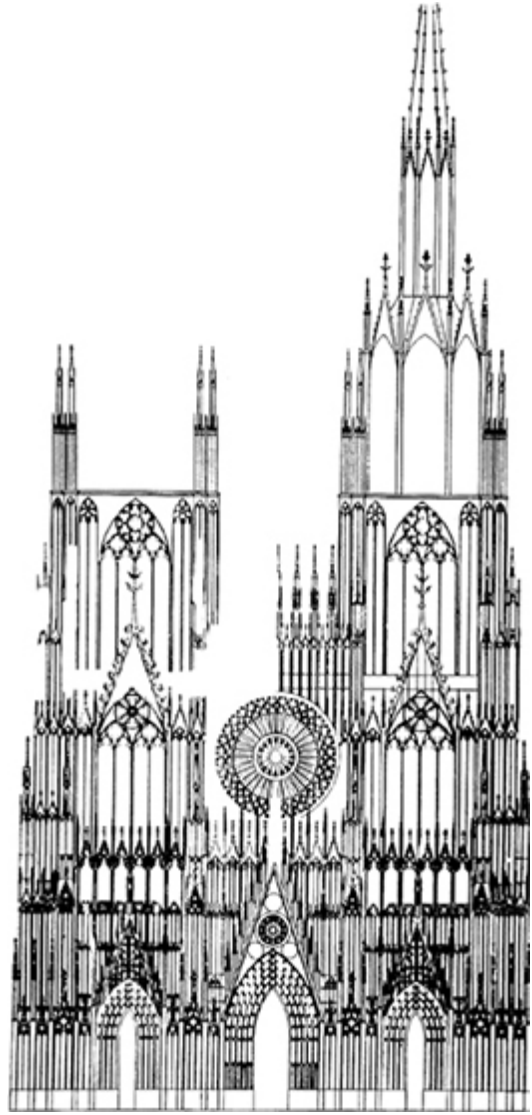


Figure 3.5 Modern redrawing of Strasbourg Plan B, view showing distinction between original and full scheme (Robert Bork and Danya Crites, after Reinhard Liess)

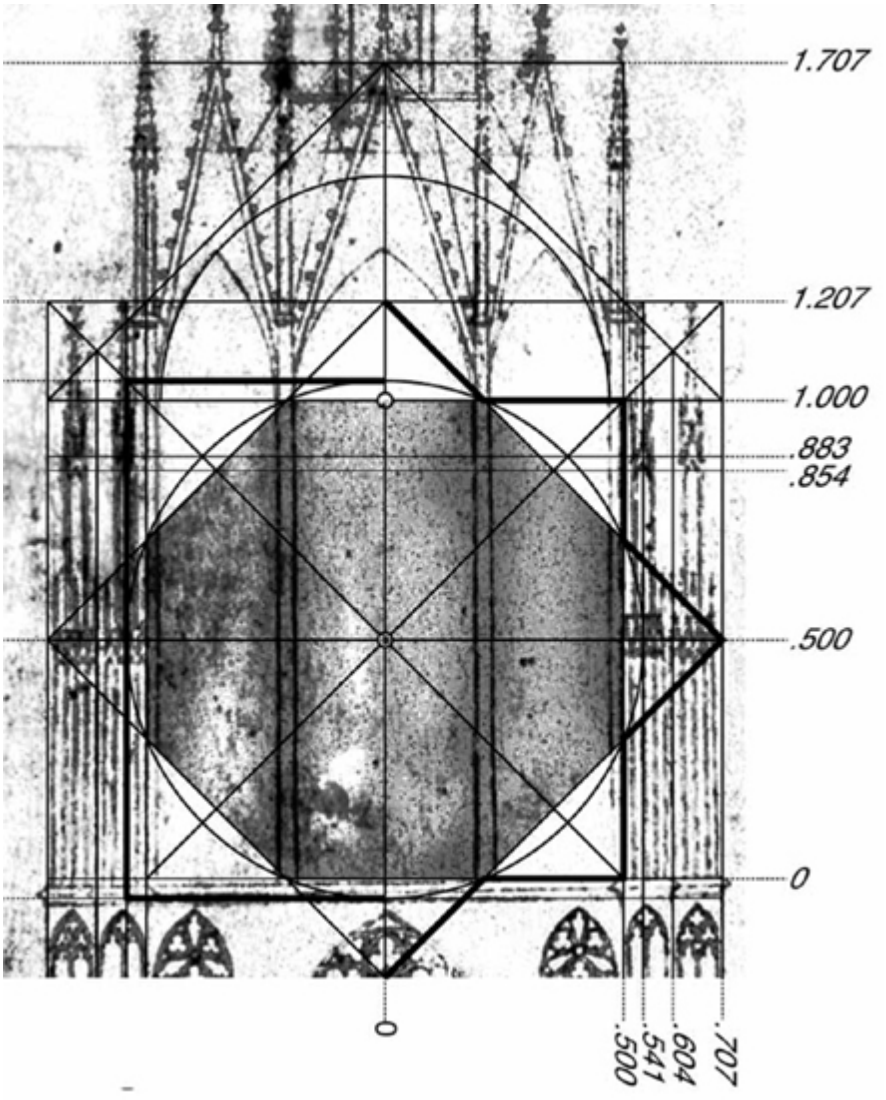


Figure 3.6 Strasbourg Plan B (Musée de l'oeuvre Notre-Dame, inventory number 3), detail of spire base with geometrical overlay by Bork

The meaning of these rotated square geometries begins to become clear in light of their octagonal overlap, which precisely matches the spire footprint implied by the upper portion of the drawing, shown shaded in Figure 3.6. The verticals describing the corner flanges of the spire drum connect the corners of that octagon, rising between height 0 and 1.000. So the octagon was definitely used by the draftsman who created the spire zone. But another more subtle relationship shows that the octagon itself, and not just the rotated squares that frame it, was important for the original draftsman, the one who created the lower portion of the drawing. A circle circumscribed about this

octagon has an equator reaching .541 units out from the tower centerline.[18] This dimension marks the span to the main buttress axes, which descend all the way to the base of the drawing. Or, equivalently, one can observe that the span between the pinnacle doublets was set by inscribing an octagon inside the circle framed by these main buttress axes. While the latter description probably matches the chronology of the drawing's production more accurately, the key point is that the original draftsman had to have used the octagon-in-circle construction to set the relationship between the buttress axes and the pinnacle faces, both of which belong to the carefully drawn lower half of the drawing.

All this evidence strongly suggests that the original mastermind of the Strasbourg Plan B scheme was actively working with an octagon corresponding to the footprint of the spire that was drawn in more cursorily by his successor. This implies that the original designer was thinking not just about the elevation of his contemplated facade, but also about the ground plan of its towers. Such a conclusion should hardly be seen as surprising. Even Villard de Honnecourt, after all, showed both a plan and an elevation of the Laon tower, and there is abundant evidence from the later Middle Ages that Gothic designers generated their elevations by stacking elements extruded from their ground plans. This approach can be seen most famously in the fifteenth-century booklets on pinnacle design published by Matthäus Roriczer and Hans Schmuttermayr, in which the texts describe the process of extrusion or "Auszug" step by geometrical step.[19] Similar methods were likely used to design spired towers like the ones planned for both Laon and Strasbourg, although the creators of these earlier schemes have left no textual traces. All of these Gothic designers were interested in relating plans to elevations, but their approach was essentially two-plus-two-dimensional, rather than three-dimensional and spatial.

The essentially non-spatial nature of the Gothic design process helps to explain the apparent lull in the production of Strasbourg Plan B. The original designer fairly clearly intended to crown his boxy facade with octagonally symmetrical spires. He used the geometry of the spire footprint to establish the locations and proportions of the pinnacle doublets seen in the elevation, which he drew himself. At that late point in the design process, however, he may have suddenly realized something that an architect more practiced in three-dimensional thinking would have recognized long before: namely, that the pinnacle doublets atop the towers would in reality stand awkwardly apart from the octagonal spire core. They appear to flank the spire in the drawing only because it presents a view directly from the front, a view that an observer of the completed building would

almost never see. Upon realizing this problem, the original draftsman may well have paused in his work so that he could take time to develop designs for elements that would link the pinnacles to the spire core. The details of this narrative must necessarily remain hypothetical, but it seems likely that the discontinuity in the production of Plan B related to concern or confusion about the spatial relations implied by the drawing.

The later history of Plan B helps to put this argument in context. The cursorily rendered upper portion of Plan B has often been dismissed as a very late addition to the drawing, but its geometrical structure relates surprisingly closely to that of the meticulously detailed lower portion. As noted above, the proportions of the pinnacle doublets drawn by the original draftsman seem to have been determined using an octagonal figure corresponding to the footprint of the spire drawn by his follower. This follower was likely able to draw the vertical flanges on his spire simply by connecting points that had already been established in the layout of the pinnacles. He would not have needed any sophisticated projection technique, therefore, to produce the accurately proportioned facets of his spire drum. Even the seemingly foreshortened window heads in the lateral panels appear to have been produced by the simplest of means. Their curving outer profiles are simply arcs of a single circle, whose center is marked by a prominent compass prick point on the tower centerline at height 1.000. In terms of geometrical layout, therefore, there is no reason to postulate a decades-long gap between the production of Plan B's lower and upper portions. The later draftsman was not doing anything that the original draftsman could not have foreseen in the 1270s. It is quite possible, in fact, that the upper zone was produced using construction lines that had already been established by the original designer. The geometry of the whole spire zone unfolds naturally from the rotated square figures already used to define the proportions of the pinnacle doublets. The gables in the spire drum, for example, terminate 1.707 units above the top of the boxy tower story, or precisely half a unit above the pinnacle tips. Similarly rigorous relationships govern the whole drawing from facade base to spire tip, suggesting that it was conceived by a single individual, despite the obvious differences of facture between the upper and lower zones.[20] In light of these findings, the interruption in the drawing's production seems to reflect a particular problem with the transitional area at the spire base, rather than a more global problem with the spire design as a whole.

Further evidence for this argument about the relationship between the two zones of Strasbourg Plan B comes from consideration of the drawing known as Strasbourg Plan B1, an elaborated copy of Plan B that is now preserved in Vienna.[21] In Plan B1, as in Plan B, three

gabled facets fill the space between the pinnacle doublets at the spire base. And, in both cases, the center facet is wider than the two flanking it by a √2 ratio, attesting to the use of geometries based on octagons and rotated squares. In Plan B itself, these relationships can be read unproblematically in spatial terms, suggesting the presence of an octagonally symmetrical spire core with its central facet to the viewer and its lateral facets diagonally receding. The facets have different widths in the drawing, in other words, because of their implied orientation in space, even though all the facets of the octagonal spire would be identical in the real structure. In Plan B1, though, the three visible facets are differentiated from each other by their articulation, as well as by their proportions. The wide central facet is subdivided into four lancets, while the narrower lateral ones are divided into just three lancets each. The distinction between these facets, in other words, would have been intrinsic rather than just apparent. The creator of Plan B1, therefore, was not interpreting his spire base as octagonally symmetrical, even though virtually all spires of the Gothic era had octagonal plans. He appears, in other words, to have been copying the complete Plan B with no real understanding of its spatial implications.[22]

The case of Strasbourg Plan B thus demonstrates that the use of drawing involved a Faustian bargain of sorts. On the positive side, it liberated Gothic designers, allowing them to develop elaborate schemes that would have been literally inconceivable without it. On the negative side, though, the use of drawing removed the designers from direct engagement with the architectural elements as forms in space.[23] Even the more gifted among them, like the brilliant original mastermind of Strasbourg Plan B, could run into difficulties on this front, as the pause in the drawing's production suggests. And lesser talents, like the copyist responsible for Plan B1, could become truly confused when attempting to navigate between a seductive two-dimensional image and the its three-dimensional implications.

The Clermont-Ferrand Facade Drawing

Consideration of yet another drawing, an unexecuted facade design for the facade of Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral, shows that Gothic design remained resolutely non-spatial even in the decades around 1500.[24] This drawing, in fact, reveals quite clearly that its creator was thinking in terms of two-plus-two dimensions, since it includes both the elevation and the ground plan of the foreseen facade. Unlike the plan and exterior view of the Laon tower drawn by Villard de Honnecourt, which appeared on separate pages and with different

scales, those in the Clermont drawing are executed at the same scale and geometrically aligned with one another. The Clermont designer appears to have pulled his elevation directly out of the ground plan, just as his contemporary Matthaus Roriczer recommended for pinnacles. This approach to design had likely been used already by around 1200, but the Clermont drawing provides one of the clearest surviving examples of how Gothic designers conceived the relationship between these two views.

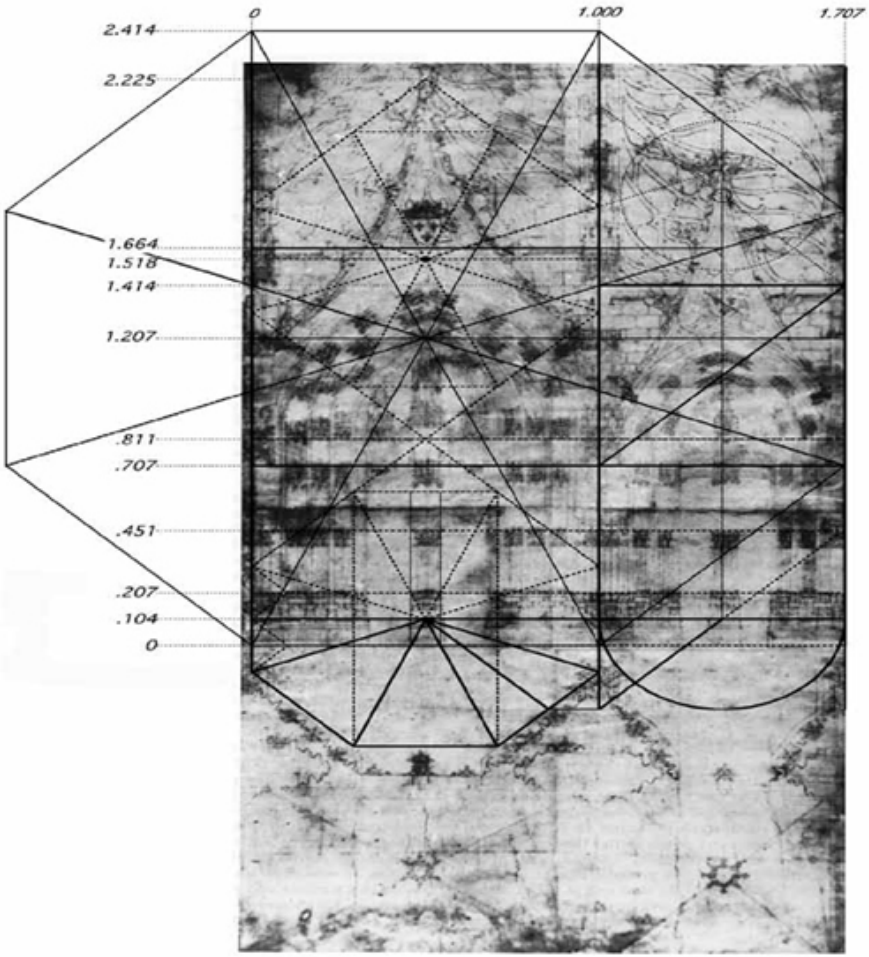


Figure 3.7 Clermont-Ferrand, unexecuted facade drawing (Clermont-Ferrand, Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, series 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 29, drawing in public domain), with geometrical overlay by Bork

Although the top edge of the Clermont drawing was trimmed off at some point in its history, making it difficult to be certain about the intended height of the foreseen facade, a whole series of geometrical clues suggest that the overall elevation was to have been based on a

single great octagon, as Figure 3.7 shows. The aisle in the drawing, for example, is .707 as wide as the nave bay, a √2 ratio that arises naturally in octagon-based constructions. The tympana in the portals, and the large statue canopies on the buttresses between them, all begin at height .707, aligned with the outer corners of the great octagon. And the tip of the main portal tympanum terminates at height 1.207, the exact center of the octagon. The sloping line from this center point to the octagon corner cuts the main nave-flanking buttress at height 1.414, the level where the aisle bay wall opens up into sloping tracery. On bases such as these, it is tempting to imagine that the main portion of the facade was meant to terminate at height 2.414, aligned with the top of the octagon.

Comparison of the Clermont facade drawing with other related designs confirms the importance of this octagonal geometrical armature. As analysis of the Reims Palimpsest design demonstrated earlier, octagonal frames were already being used early in the thirteenth century to set the proportions of facade designs. The thirteenth-century choir of Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral itself, moreover, has octagon-based proportions, with the main vessel 2.414 times as tall as the span between its piers. The creator of Clermont facade drawing surely would have taken these proportions into account, so that the foreseen late Gothic facade would fit cleanly onto the earlier portions of the building. More surprisingly, at first blush, the geometry of the Clermont choir seems to have influenced the design of Prague Cathedral. At Prague, the main vessel has the same familiar 2.414:1 height-to-width ratio, and a surviving cross-section drawing of the choir and its flying buttresses includes three sculpted grotesques that lie on the line connecting the center of the octagon to its corner.[25] These grotesques thus act as geometrical signposts, much like the oxen and hand seen in Villard de Honnecourt's elevation of the Laon tower. The resemblances between the Prague and Clermont choir sections are far more than coincidental, since the first designer of Prague Cathedral, Matthias of Arras, was a Frenchman who had trained in the southern milieu around Clermont and Narbonne. The upper portions of Prague Cathedral were completed under the leadership of Matthias's famous successor Peter Parler, but in this instance Peter appears to have respected a proportioning scheme that Matthias likely introduced to Prague based on his knowledge of French buildings like Clermont.[26]

Taken together, these examples demonstrate the striking methodological continuity of the Gothic design tradition over the course of three centuries. In every one of these cases, the essential parameters of the design appear to have been set by the play of geometry in two dimensions, rather than by explicitly spatial

considerations. Even Villard de Honnecourt's exterior view of the Laon Cathedral tower, which includes prominent quasi-perspectival depth cues lacking in most genuine Gothic workshop drawings, appears to have been laid out using a set of stacked and rotated squares. The actual designer of the Laon tower almost certainly produced a tower plan similar to but more precise than the one that Villard recorded, along with an elevation drawing more objective than Villard's exterior view. The facade drawings in the Reims Palimpsest, and the somewhat later facade drawings from the Strasbourg workshop, attest to the use of strict and highly precise elevation drawings in the thirteenth century. The case of Strasbourg Plan B is particularly interesting, both because the layout of the whole elevation relates closely to the octagonal footprint of the spire, and because the pause in the drawing's production at the level of the spire base suggests that the original creator of the facade scheme may have belatedly realized that his two-plus-two-dimensional design method might produce forms that would appear awkward when built in three dimensions. The draftsman responsible for the elaborated copy known as Strasbourg Plan B1, meanwhile, appears to have utterly misread the spatial implications of his prototype, since he did not recognize the octagonal symmetry surely intended for the Plan B spire. Perhaps to avoid this kind of confusion, a number of late Gothic draftsmen adopted the solution seen in the Clermont drawing, where the plan and the elevation are shown together at the same scale. This means that an expert viewer can read the spatial implications of the drawing without ambiguity, but a certain degree of effort is still necessary to knit the two views together into a mental picture of a three-dimensional structure. Such mental work was particularly necessary for the interpretation of Gothic drawings since the Gothic design tradition was characterized by radical formal innovation as well as by striking methodological continuity. The enormous swooping gables and curvilinear tracery of the Clermont facade, scheme, for example, probably would have shocked members of Villard de Honnecourt's generation, or even the original mastermind of Strasbourg Plan B. The conventions of the Gothic tradition, in other words, governed the geometrical logic of the design process, rather than the proportions and appearance of the final product.

Coda: the Contrast Between Gothic and Renaissance Approaches to Space

In the Italian Renaissance, drawing and spatial perception played very different roles than they did in Gothic architectural practice. While

Gothic draftsmen used highly precise drawings to develop and explore new formal relationships in two dimensions at a time, their Renaissance counterparts often used sketchier drawings to describe familiar three-dimensional forms such as cubes, spheres, classical columns, or the human body. All of these familiar forms could be understood within Renaissance theories of beauty that emphasized fixed canons of proportion rather than procedural rules of the Gothic sort. The human body provided the organic version of the ideal, upon which the various canonical proportions of the classical orders were based. To capture the proportions of exemplary ancient buildings, Italian draftsmen often used annotated sketches, in which numerical dimensions based on measurement in the field provided a high degree of descriptive precision, even if the drawing itself was rather rough in its execution. This module-based approach also tied in naturally with the idea that formal harmony arose from simple arithmetical ratios, rather than from complex geometrical relationships of the Gothic sort.[27]

The Renaissance interest in visual description also led to dramatic innovations in the rendering and conception of space, most notably evident in the development of perspective.[28] Leonardo da Vinci, building on decades of progress in this field, was able to produce compelling perspectival sketches of centralized churches that contrast strikingly with the roughly contemporary Clermont facade design (see Figure 3.8).[29] His churches are built up of simple irreducible elements like spheres and cubes, instead of dissolving into flickering patterns of tracery. The Clermont drawing is far more precise, but it has to be, since its formal logic is far less obvious at first glance. And, while the Clermont draftsman seems to have considered only the plane geometries of his plan and elevation, Leonardo clearly understood the three-dimensional implications of his designs before he ever set pen to paper. This contrast effectively exemplifies the larger contrast between the Gothic tradition, which privileged formal innovation within a fairly conservative methodological frame, and the architectural culture of the Renaissance, in which the forms themselves were often simple or historicizing, even when the techniques of design and representation were innovative.

Because Renaissance spaces were conceived so differently than Gothic spaces, they have very different aesthetic and emotional impact. Ironically enough, Renaissance architects appear to have entered a Faustian bargain of their own, the mirror image of the one that Gothic draftsmen had entered when they adopted geometrically dynamic drawing as their principal tool of design. In choosing to conceive their buildings as assemblages of simple irreducible volumes like cubes and hemispheres, Renaissance architects gained lucidity

while sacrificing a degree of expressive freedom. Gothic forms and spaces effectively suggest transcendence in large part because their proportions are not fixed to those of such familiar forms. This quality of Gothic space, and the qualities of partiality and subdivision described by Frankl, derive in large part from the nature of the Gothic design method, which involved plane geometry rather than the third dimension as such. In a very real sense, therefore, Gothic spaces are psychologically and formally compelling precisely because they arose from a fundamentally non-spatial approach to architectural design.

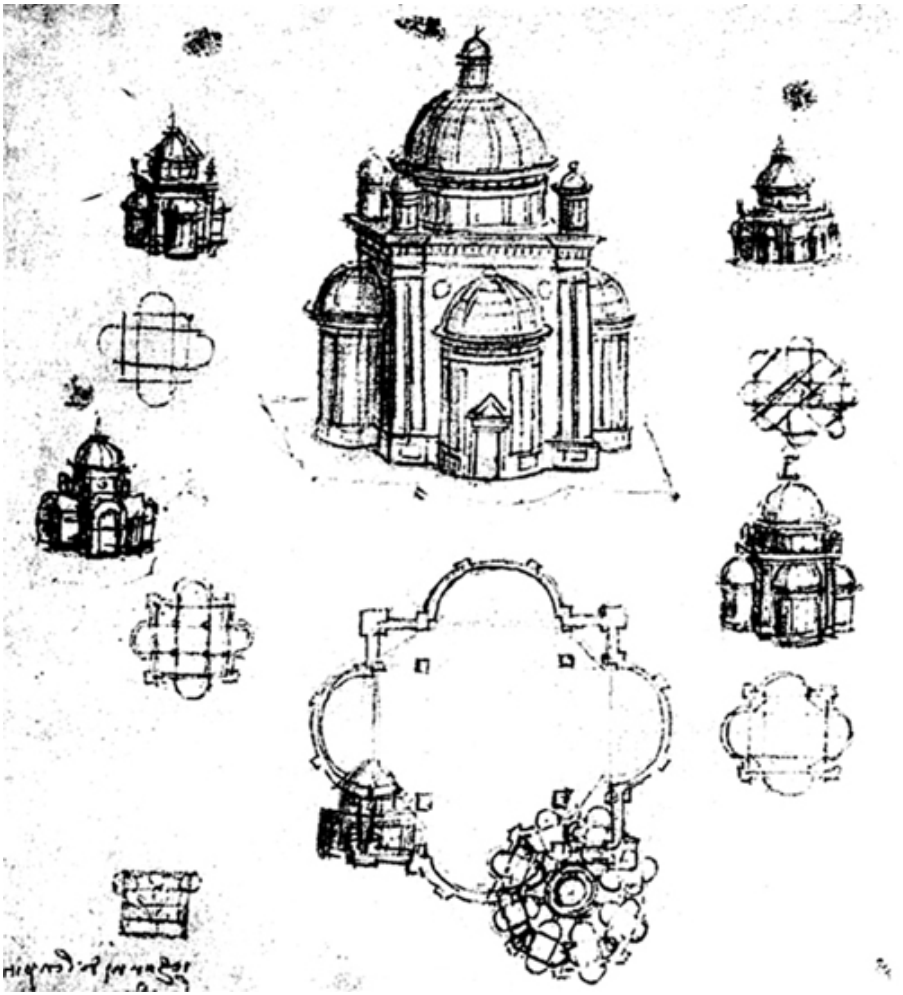


Figure 3.8 Leonardo da Vinci, sketches of centralized churches (London, British Library, Codex Ashburnham 2037, folio 3v) (sketches in the public domain)

1 Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Sources and Literary Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, 1960), p. 619, notes the derivation of this concept from his teacher Heinrich Wölfflin.

2 Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 10–14.

3 Valuable recent studies that bear on medieval architectural drawing include: Roland Recht, Jacques Le Goff et al. (eds), *Les bâtisseurs des cathédrales gothiques* (Strasbourg, 1989); Roland Recht, *Le dessin d'architecture* (Paris, 1995); James Ackerman, "The Origins of Architectural Drawing in the Middle Ages and Renaissance," in *Origins, Imitation, Conventions: Representation in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 28–65; and Johann Josef Böker, *Architektur der Gotik/Gothic Architecture* (Salzburg, 2005).

4 On this problem of vault projection, see Werner Müller, *Grundlagen gotischer Bautechnik* (Munich, 1990), esp. pp. 151–83; and Werner Müller, "Le dessin technique à l'époque gothique," in *Les bâtisseurs*, pp. 237–54.

5 On the Vienna drawing collections see Böker, *Architektur der Gotik/Gothic Architecture*.

6 On Jervaulx, see Peter Fergusson, "Notes on Two Cistercian Engraved Designs," *Speculum*, 54 (1979): 1–17. On Byland, see Stuart Harrison and Paul Barker, "Byland Abbey, North Yorkshire: The West Front and Rose Window Reconstructed," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 140 (1987): 134–51.

7 Robert Branner, "Villard de Honnecourt, Reims and the Origin of Gothic Architectural Drawing," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 61 (1963): 129–45.

8 Villard's portfolio is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 19093. The most recent and authoritative discussion of Villard's career is Carl Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt: A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile* (Farnham, 2009).

9 See Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt*, and Barnes, "Le 'problème' Villard de Honnecourt," in *Les bâtisseurs*, pp. 209–23, also available in English at www.villardman.net/problem.html. For the older view of Villard as an architect, see especially Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt, Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches ms. fr. 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothe*k (2nd edn, Graz, 1972 [1935]).

10 The plan and exterior view of the Laon tower appear as folio 9v and 10r in Villard's portfolio. See Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt*, pp. 72–4.

11 A fair number of later Gothic elevation drawings admittedly have subtle depth cues, but these in almost all instances are small and local, involving only tiny details hung onto the rigid geometrical frame of the drawing as a whole. Villard's exterior view of the Laon tower involves much larger deviations from pure orthogonality.

12 In Figures 3.1 and 3.2, the drawings have been sized so that the scales of the plan and exterior view agree. In Villard's actual portfolio, the exterior view is drawn at a larger scale than the plan.

13 Robert Branner, "Drawings from a Thirteenth-Century Architect's Shop: The Reims Palimpsest," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 17 (1958): 9–21.

14 The older-looking drawing includes many prominent prick marks, while the more recent-looking one does not. On this basis, Stephen Murray convincingly argued that the former was a copy made by pricking holes through a lost original, perhaps as part of the brainstorming process that generated the later design. Murray also observed that a simple grid of squares lined up with some of the major articulation elements in the first drawing, but he did not explain how this system might be extended to govern the rest of the design. See Stephen Murray, "The Gothic Façade Drawings in the 'Reims Palimpsest'," *Gesta*, 17/2 (1978): 51–6. Figure 3.3, which serves as the basis for the elaborated graphic in Figure 3.4, comes from

Murray's careful redrawing of the original.

15 The number 2.414, or $1 + \sqrt{2}$, corresponds to the height of an octagon with facet length 1.

16 Strasbourg, Musée de l'œuvre Notre-Dame, INV num. 3. Plan B has, over the years, generated an extensive bibliography. Many of the relevant articles are cited by Recht in his catalog entry on the drawing, which appears in *Les Bâtisseurs*, 386–8. The most extensive recent article on Plan B in particular is Reinhard Liess, "Der Riß B der Straßburger Münsterfassade: eine baugeschictliche Revision," in *Orient und Okzident in Spiegel der Kunst: Festschrift Heinrich Gerhard Franz zum 70 Geburtstag* (Graz, 1986), pp. 171–202. The relationship between Plan B and the present Strasbourg facade is discussed by Roland Recht in *L'Alsace gothique de 1300 à 1365: étude d'architecture religieuse* (Colmar, 1974), pp. 36–54, and by Reinhard Wortmann in a series of articles culminating in "Noch einmal Straßburg-West," *Architectura*, 27 (1997): 129–72. A complete geometrical analysis of the drawing was earlier published as Robert Bork, "Plan B and the Geometry of Façade Design at Strasbourg Cathedral, 1250–1350," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64 (December, 2005): 442–73.

17 See, for instance, Recht, *Le dessin d'architecture*, pp. 62–3.

18 This explains why the subdivision of the lancets in the buttresses is slightly asymmetrical. Since the buttress flanges fill the space between .500 and .604 units out from the tower centerline, one might expect that the vertical subdividing the tracery would fall halfway in between, at .552 units from the centerline. In reality, though, these axes are pinched slightly inwards, as the unequal size of the two sub-lancets indicates.

19 See Lon Shelby, *Gothic Design Techniques* (Carbondale, 1977); and Ulrich Coenen, *Die spätgotischen Werkmeisterbücher in Deutschland* (München, 1990).

20 See Bork, "Plan B and the Geometry of Façade Design at Strasbourg Cathedral, 1250–1350."

21 Plan B1 holds inventory number 105069 in the Wien Museum Karlsplatz. See *Les bâtisseurs*, pp. 88–9; and Böker, *Architektur der Gotik*, p. 448.

22 The production of Plan B1 can thus be taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the design of the spire zone in Strasbourg Plan B. Since the Viennese copy has not been firmly dated, this finding adds little in the way of historical precision, but it does reinforce the point that the spire zone of the original drawing had to have been conceived relatively early, and not after a decades-long hiatus. Recht has nevertheless attempted to argue that Plan B1 came first. Although he notes some of the geometrical ambiguities in Plan B1, his lack of appreciation for the geometrical coherence of the spire design in Plan B weakens his analysis. See *Le dessin d'architecture*, pp. 62–3.

23 This is not to say, of course, that the use of drawing prevented architects from engaging as they always had with the three-dimensional realities of building components on their worksites, but the rise of drawing as a design medium certainly allowed the visual imagination to run free in some new ways.

24 Clermont-Ferrand, Archives Départementale de Haute-Loire, 3G, armoire 18, sac B, cote 29. The drawing is dated to c. 1500 in Michael Davis, "'Troys Portaulx et Deux Grosses Tours': The Flamboyant Façade Project for the Cathedral of Clermont," *Gesta*, 22/1 (1983): 67–83.

25 The drawing is in the collection of the Viennese Akademie der bildende Künste, INV num. 16 821. See Böker, *Architektur der Gotik*, pp. 74–8. For a discussion of its geometry, see Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 208–13.

26 The best comprehensive treatment of Parler's career is Marc Carel Schurr, *Die*

Baukunst Peter Parlers (Ostfildern, 2003). For the relationship between the campaigns of Mathias of Arras and Peter Parler, see Klara Benešovská, "Einige Randbemerkungen zum Anteil von Peter Parler am Prager Veitsdom," in Richard Strobel (ed.), *Parlerbauten: Architektur, Skulptur, Restaurierung* (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. 117–26. For valuable English treatments of Prague and Parler, see Paul Crossley's articles "The Politics of Presentation: the Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia," in Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and Alastair Minnis (eds), *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (York, 2000), 99–172; and "Peter Parler and England: A Problem Revisited," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 64 (2003): 53–82. For accessible synopses of research up to 2000, see Crossley's summary in Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, ed. Paul Crossley (New edn, New Haven, 2000), p. 347, n. 55; and Norbert Nußbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 241–2.

27 A classic statement of this argument appears in Rudolph Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London, 1949).

28 There was not, of course, a clear and sharp division between medieval and Renaissance visual cultures, especially in Italy, and Marvin Trachtenberg has made a strong argument that one-point perspective emerged quite independently of classicism in the context of Trecento urban design; see *The Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge, 1997). It seems clear, however, that the rise of perspective contributed to a new kind of volumetric thinking about architectural space that would distinguish mature Renaissance design from the bi-planar tradition of Gothic. For a recent discussion on the importance and pervasiveness of perspectival thinking in Italian Renaissance design, see Ann C. Huppert, "Envisioning New St. Peter's: Perspectival Drawings and the Process of Design," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 68 (2009): 158–77.

29 James Ackerman, "Leonardo da Vinci's Church Designs," in *Origins, Imitation, Conventions*, pp. 58–93.

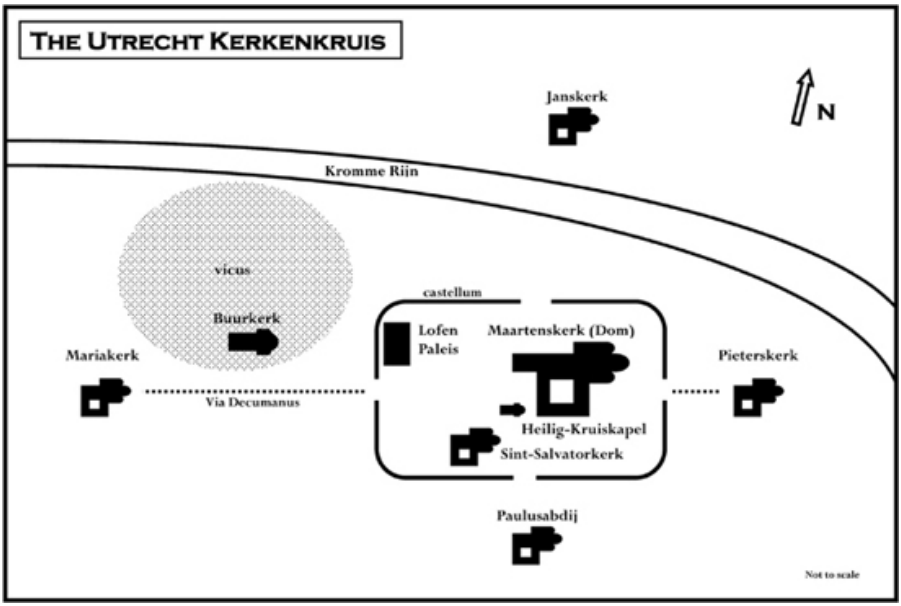
Chapter 4
Marking the City for Christ: Spatiality and the Invention of Utrecht's Medieval Cross of Churches

David Ross Winter

Utrecht's *kerkenkruis*, or Romanesque "cross of churches," provides scholars with a useful case study of some of the more vexing problems surrounding medieval notions of spatiality, the "limits of iconography," and how meaning can shift over time.[1] The *kerkenkruis* is a cruciform spatial-architectural ensemble of ecclesiastical structures that has dominated the core of the city from at least the middle of the eleventh century (see Map 4.1). However, because no explicit literary reference to the ensemble survives from the time of its construction, its medieval existence has been largely inferred by modern observers. This makes the *kerkenkruis* a particularly elusive assemblage of space and meaning. From one vantage, the monument appears to be a deliberate expression of medieval *mentalité*. However, when viewed from another angle, it is manifestly an intellectual construct of the modern era. It is simultaneously medieval and modern.

The historiography of the Utrecht cross of churches reflects the shifting patterns of the larger academic conversation surrounding medieval iconography and spatiality as well as the difficulty of adjudicating "significance." The cruciform plan was first noticed in the modern age by the nineteenth-century Dutch archivist, Samuel Muller, who outlined what he maintained were its salient features, noting that the monument was designed expressly to convey cosmological or theological ideas.[2] Since Muller's time, the idea of a *kerkenkruis* has increasingly become, at both a scholarly and popular level, an axiom of the city's medieval heritage.[3] Most historians maintain that the monument was devised purposefully by the city's twentieth bishop, Bernulf (active 1027–54). Bernulf served as patron for three of the four satellite churches, and according to local tradition, he directed

the earliest phases of construction.[4] The bishop was ostensibly acting at the behest of the Salian Emperor Henry III (d. 1056), who intended the *kerkenkruis* to serve as a memorial to his father, Conrad II.[5] It was, then, to use Aart Mekking's phrase, "a cross of churches around Conrad's heart."[6]



Map 4.1 Utrecht's *kerkenkruis*/"cross of churches" (David Ross Winter)

More recently, however, scholar Charlotte Broer has taken issue with this view, arguing that there is no direct literary evidence to support the notion that medieval people viewed the *kerkenkruis* as a deliberately fashioned, symbolic construction.[7] Broer adjudicates the medieval "reality" of the monument using a strict empiricist framework, one that asserts the primacy of the documentary record over other sorts of evidence. However, considering the largely pre- or proto-literate character of the age, and the extent to which medieval people considered literate modes to be an intrusion into age-old cultural patterns, we should instead begin by exploring the matter from the perspective of medieval cultural and perceptual norms.[8]

From an aesthetic and architectural standpoint, the cross was a ubiquitous component of the premodern semiotic vocabulary. Many, if not most, Christian observers were predisposed towards seeing crosses in the structures they built to express their piety. Indeed, as Christians contended with the novelty of urbanization after c. 950, they manufactured a wide range of deliberate and accidental references to the symbol of Christ's Passion throughout their built environment. From boundary and market crosses to wayside shrines, cruciform

markers were constructed or invented for a variety of reasons: to assert jurisdiction, to satisfy devotional or liturgical exigencies, to establish social solidarities and so on. However, whether they were established deliberately or emerged organically and perhaps even semi-consciously from the interplay of religious, political, and social forces swirling around them, spatial and architectural ensembles such as the *kerkenkruis* would have naturally shaped, keyed, and stimulated the imaginations of those who interacted with them.[9]

It is on this basis that I will argue for the medieval "reality" of the Utrecht *kerkenkruis*. That is, the monument appears to have been forged as much by the semiotic imperatives of the era as it was by historical agents consciously mediating or shaping the space of Utrecht's *Domplein*. Thus, it emerged gradually, but was available to anyone who ruminated sympathetically on the composition or nature of the space. I will also argue that it is practically impossible to establish a precise moment when Utrecht's civic cross "came into existence." While Bishop Bernulf's eleventh-century iteration of the *kerkenkruis* might certainly be considered a mature form of the monument, I argue that the civic cross, in some ways, predates the Gregorian era and that the symbol's roots are actually more deeply buried in the earliest strata of Utrecht's past. It emerged from the city's early situation as a place of crossing. Over time, these sorts of associations coalesced, perhaps even semi-consciously, in a series of new and unexpected ways.

Largely because of this, the *kerkenkruis* had no inherently fixed or stable meaning. Rather, it was able to convey a wide array of significations. Some of these would have been readily available to casual observers, while others must have seemed hidden, manifesting themselves only upon pious brooding or learned contemplation. In this way, the *kerkenkruis* appears to have been a profoundly complex and polysemous testament to the medieval willingness to allegorize and to make multiple simultaneous readings of a single form or object. Indeed, the centrality of the cross motif in medieval Christian architecture and iconography meant that, depending on one's education, affinities, and spiritual formation, a monument such as the *kerkenkruis* might resolve itself into any of a series of culturally or theologically recognizable patterns.

In order to demonstrate the almost protean nature of Utrecht's civic cross, I will begin by exploring the architectural cruciform in other contexts and at other scales. After ruminating on the willingness of medieval people to conceptualize the cross at a number of magnitudes and to infuse these constructions with a multiplicity of sacred reverberations, I will move towards a consideration of the *kerkenkruis* itself. I will offer the reader a typology of Utrecht's civic

crosses at various stages of the monument's emergence: these stages begin in the Roman period and culminate in the *kerkenkruis* of Muller's contrivance. However, before discussing my view of how the Utrecht cross of churches reverberated with those who experienced it, I will offer a description of the monument as it has been understood since Muller's time.

The Chronological Development of the *Kerkenkruis*

The term *kerkenkruis* refers to the cruciform configuration of ecclesiastical structures that, from the mid-eleventh century, has rested atop the remains of the Roman-era *castellum Traiectum*. Throughout the Middle Ages, these churches, abbeys, and chapels, together with their immunities and dependent properties, formed a discrete "clerical precinct" of the city, spanning several hectares. Before c. 1500, this ecclesiastical space was demarcated from the municipal zone by a series of walls, moats, and ditches.[10] The program was composed of two main parts: a central agglomeration of structures, which I shall refer to as the "core" of the cross, and a series of satellite churches. The four satellites lay between 100 and 250 meters from the *Domplein*, at the cardinal points of the compass; I shall refer to these as the "arms" of the *kerkenkruis*.

The history of the core is complex, but can be synopsized as follows: in c. 720, the Anglo-Saxon evangelist, Willibrord, erected a church to St Martin, the Sint-Maartenskerk, on the *Domplein* near the intersection of the old *viae principalis* and *praetoria*. This church superseded an earlier church dedicated to St Thomas, which had been built in c. 630 (and which was leveled by invading Frisians around 650). Willibrord also renovated the old Roman officers' headquarters for use by missionaries and regular clergy. This building sat a few meters to the south of the Maartenskerk, astride the *via praetoria*. This second structure was probably the earliest Sint-Salvatorkerk, dedicated to St Salvator. It served until c. 745, when another evangelical visitor, Boniface, erected a new Sint-Salvatorkerk against the southern wall of the *castellum*.

This was the architectural situation when the Vikings raided Utrecht in the ninth century and the See was briefly transferred to Deventer.[11] When the See was re-established in the tenth century, the first Sint-Salvatorkerk was pulled down, and its stones salvaged for a new church, the Heilig-Kruiskapel, dedicated to the Holy Cross.[12] This tiny baptismal chapel was erected in the alley between the Maartenskerk and the new Salvatorkerk. While the foundation of the chapel marked the beginning of the *Domplein*'s high medieval

configuration, it did not settle the matter of primacy. Because of the complexity of the architectural development of the *Domplein*, throughout the Middle Ages the canons of the new Sint-Salvatorkerk regularly contested the primacy of the Maartenskerk.

Between the tenth and the middle of the twelfth centuries, a number of changes were made to the space of the *Domplein*. Both the Maartenskerk and the Salvatorkerk were renovated in the Romanesque style and new architectural elements were added to the *Domplein*.[13] These included the episcopal palace and the so-called Lofen Palace, which was the local seat of the German kings. Both of these structures were built largely within the bounds of the *castellum*, though they sat at the western extremity of the *Domplein*. The foundations of both palaces are still partially visible.

The “arms” of the *kerkenkruis* were formed by four churches lying just beyond the perimeter of the *Domplein*. Three of these churches were collegiate chapters. The fourth was a Benedictine abbey church. The collegiate churches included the 1) Mariakerk (Saint-Mary’s, west of the *Domplein*), 2) Janskerk (Saint-John the Baptist, to the north), and 3) Pieterskerk (Saint-Peter’s, to the east). The abbey church, the Paulusabdij, located to the south of the *Domplein*, was dedicated to St Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles. Three of these churches (Janskerk, Pieterskerk, and Paulusabdij) were erected between c. 1040 and 1054 in the Romanesque style. The Mariakerk was built somewhat later (that is, between 1085 and c. 1160). Architecturally it contained both Romanesque and proto-Gothic elements.[14] The erection of the Mariakerk was delayed by local and international political disturbances and a series of conflagrations.[15]

Unfortunately, few elements of the *kerkenkruis* have survived the ravages of time. Indeed, only parts of the Maartenskerk and two of the capitular churches still stand (that is, the Pieterskerk and the Janskerk). The Salvatorkerk was razed during the Reformation, while the Mariakerk and Paulusabdij were demolished somewhat later. The Heilig-Kruiskapel survived until the 1830s. Its final incarnation was as a municipal soup kitchen.

Space, Architecture, and the Medieval Cruciform

The medieval discourse surrounding sacred space and the built environment frequently borrowed from the dominant models of scriptural exegesis.[16] For example, William Durandus applied the fourfold *sensus* to his reading of the Holy City of Jerusalem.[17] Abbot Suger, commenting on the church of St Denis, claimed that he was lifted to reveries and felt transported “to that higher world in an

anagogical manner."[18] Somewhat later, Thomas Aquinas opined that the divine mysteries could be conveyed through the expert application of architectural symbolism.[19] Thus, when learned or pious Christians approached sacred space, they did so largely with the expectation that design, form, and placement held meaning: ecclesiastical buildings were "sensible texts" in which visual, aural, and other cues could be "read" and analyzed like scripture, liturgy, or some pious disquisition. Indeed, between Patristic and medieval times, Christian structures gradually acquired their own visual logic and syntax.[20] And, in order to communicate the perfection of the celestial and to endow churches with an intimation of eternity, builders and patrons devised a series of aesthetic strategies.

One especially prominent design element sought to establish a connection to the creative principle of the Divine by deploying organic or anthropic referents. Builders emphasized the Creator's productive act by fashioning structures that harmonized with his greatest art: the human creature. This strategy appears to have been so widely understood by medieval planners that conscious reflection on its application is muted. Nevertheless, a small number of medieval observers were explicit in articulating the symbolic connection between ecclesiastical space and the human form. For example, in one of his notebooks, the fifteenth-century architect, Francesco di Giorgio, inscribed the image of a man, his arms outstretched across the transept, into the schematic outline for a church.[21] Similarly, Rudolph of St Trond observed, in reference to his monastic church in Limburg, that

> … the chancel and sanctuary [symbolize] the head and neck, the choir stalls [symbolize] the breasts, the transept extending toward both sides of the choir with two or more sleeves [symbolizes] the arms and hands, the nave of the monastery [symbolizes] the womb, and the interior transept … [symbolizes] the hips and the legs …[22]

While the Belgian abbot appears to have imagined his church as a woman (either as the Virgin or the bride of Christ), many of those who anthropomorphized ecclesiastical space appear to have regarded the cruciform shape of the typical Latin rite church as the semblance of Christ's Paschal suffering.[23] The idea that the temple should be considered a correlate for Christ's bodily form was grounded in scripture.[24] Indeed, premodern planners were responding to New Testament warrants when they imagined the holy space of the church as a kind of brick and mortar analogue for the Atonement.[25]

According to Keith Lilley, medieval observers were also inclined to extend these significations beyond the walls of a single ecclesiastical edifice and to allegorize space at a number of levels and magnitudes.

Consider, for example, William of Conches' gloss on a commentary of Macrobius. In it, William insisted that the city "imitated the divine arrangement" of the human body.[26] Another example is found in a sermon that was composed towards the end of the twelfth century by an English monk from Chester. The civic-minded homilist observed that the city had "four gates to the four winds," and went on to state that

> … there are also two excellent straight streets in the form of the blessed Cross, which through their meeting and crossing themselves, then make four out of two, their heads ending in four gates … Now if anyone standing in the middle of the (city) turns his face to the East, according to the positions of the Churches, he finds John the forerunner of the lord to the East, Peter the Apostle to the West, Werburgh the Virgin to the North, and Archangel Michael to the south … So behold our city, as it was predicted, entrusted to the holy guardians as it were in fourfold manner.[27]

Krautheimer observes that medieval Bambergers similarly discerned the shape of the cross in five principal churches of their city. This configuration is mentioned by the Deacon Adalbertus in his *Vita* of the Emperor Henry II and is sometimes referred to as the *Vierkirchenblick*.[28]

The mindset that permitted these observers to impose the image of the cross upon their respective cities can also be seen as cartographic representations of sacred geography. For example, in the now lost Ebstorf *mappamundi*, Gervase of Tilbury presented viewers with an exceptionally strong visualization of Christ's proprietary claims over this world. He drew a detailed T-O map with the Lord's extremities poking out at the edges of the drawing. The map is oriented to the East, with Jesus' head emerging from India. His feet protrude from Iberia, while his right hand extends from the northern tundra of Eurasia and his left hand points outward from the southernmost part of Africa. The salvific intent of Gervase's design is clear. Christ has won the world through his sacrifice, and, as a result, he and his church have entered a mystical union. Moreover, he is really present to assert his claims.[29]

Medieval people understood how religious space operated. They recognized the meaning implicit in the distribution of ecclesiastical structures; they appreciated the order and position of processional corridors; they knew the boundaries of parochial and archidiaconal spheres of interest; they understood the dynamics of holy patronage amongst the town's civic, commercial, and religious institutions. This nimble grasp of architecture's syntax permitted them, sometimes compelled them, to discern or cultivate a broad range of coherent symbolic programs. While many people probably did not discuss the nature of their engagement with the holy space surrounding them,

most were predisposed to visualize the cross at several different magnitudes and to interpret the topography and architecture of their world as a kind of spatial narrative. Those who engaged with the geography and history of the Utrecht town site, and who transformed it (either consciously or unconsciously) by planting the cross of churches atop the *castellum*, were almost certainly affected by this culturally determined spatial sense. Indeed, as in many instances elsewhere throughout Western Europe, the ecclesiastical builders at Utrecht contended with the holy space of the *Domplein* by establishing complex morphologies, and they did so using the characteristic semiotic vocabulary of the age.

A Typology of Utrecht's Civic Crosses

To understand how medieval Utrechters might have perceived/appreciated the civic cruciform, I offer the following typology. With it, a plausible case for the medieval historicity of the *kerkenkruis* can be made by using a spatial and visual approach that is conscious of the dominant symbolic assumptions of the era. It also demonstrates that the *kerkenkruis* was a polysemous structure—one which gradually came to articulate a series of overt and covert claims relating to authority, salvation, and the mysteries of the faith. While the monument would have been recognizable to virtually all who experienced it, not all meanings would have been shared equally. Generations of observers would have had their own historically situated and unique engagement with it. Moreover, although it has rarely been discussed, it seems that the *kerkenkruis* phase of the monument's existence was anticipated or conditioned by a series of geographic and psychological intimations of the cross.

This typology is not exhaustive and should be considered simply a starting point for a broader discussion.

The Topographical Cross

The earliest cruciform to manifest itself in the imagination of those who dwelt near Utrecht was almost certainly the "topographical cross" of the natural river ford, which existed at the site from prehistoric times. The notion of crossing appears to have been essential to the town's earliest understanding of itself as an identifiable *locus*. So, while many habitations dotted the banks of the Lower Rijn during the imperial Roman era, only a few of them emerged with the idea of "crossing," or moving from one place to another, embedded in their

name. Indeed, the toponymic suffixes *-trecht/-tricht/-drecht* are found in a fair number of Dutch place names. They ultimately derive from the Latin *traiectus*, meaning ford or crossing.[30] Though there are exceptions, the use of these suffixes is generally confined to former river crossings in parts of the modern Netherlands which correspond to the Roman zone of occupation, that is, areas which lay to the south and west of the Old Rijn. Of these, only Utrecht sat astride the lower reaches of the *limes Germanicus*. In ancient times, Utrecht was *Uut-traiectum ad Rhenum*, that is, "the downriver ford on the Rijn," denoting the site's status as the westernmost point where the river could safely be crossed on foot. By the eleventh century, the name of the site had changed to the more thoroughly Latinate *Ultratrajectensis*, which was eventually shortened to *Ultrechtum*, and finally, Utrecht. In each case, however, the name preserved the notion that this was the lowest point where one might penetrate the transverse line of the river and make a transit through the imperial *limes*. That Utrecht retained its name after the imperial withdrawal in the fourth century is perhaps a testament to its fundamental conceptualization of itself as a place of crossing over and transition.

The Liminal Cross

Closely allied to the idea of "crossing over" is the notion of existing at a border, or regulating the movement between states and conditions. In its earliest incarnation and for a long time thereafter, Utrecht was an entrepôt between worlds. For the Romans, the *castellum* marked one of the final links in the *limes Germanicus*. There were other legionary forts closer to the North Sea, but because Utrecht was a river ford and the point where the Rijn and the Vecht flowed into separate channels, the site appears to have been a comparatively significant *locus* of Roman military culture and economic activity.[31] The fort was certainly valuable from a strategic perspective, commanding the riverine approaches to Frisia. Thus, Roman Utrecht sat astride two worlds. It demarcated the boundary between "civilization" and "barbarism," but it also, in its small way, regulated the correspondence between these zones. Both as a ford and as a fork in the river, it was a point where Mediterranean civilization communicated with the "wilderness" beyond. The *castellum*, acting as imperial gatekeeper, determined, at least locally, who and what might move between the two spheres.

The first to use Utrecht's putative classical beginnings to their advantage after Rome's departure were the early Frankish kings. They considered themselves the rightful heirs to the Caesars, and hence to

all imperial possessions. Thus, when the Anglo-Saxon mission to the continent began in the seventh century, the Carolingian *major domo*, Pippin II, gave the old redoubt to St Willibrord and his monks. Despite its dilapidation, Willibrord appears to have found Utrecht a *locus amoenus* (a spiritually amenable place), for he established in the ruins of the *castellum* his archiepiscopal See.[32] Indeed, Willibrord reclaimed it for Christ and Rome and made it his headquarters for the conversion of Frisia. Thus, once again, Utrecht became a boundary. Ramparts which once defended the patrimony of the pagan Caesars now served the legions of the militant Church and their allies amongst the Frankish kings. It was, after Willibrord's arrival, the point from which earnest and threadbare evangelists moved out into the forests of Germania, anxious to bring heathen souls to Christ. Located as it was, at the furthest reaches of *Christianitas*, this tiny enclave became a bulwark against the devil, and a place where Christ's triumph was announced. Accordingly, Utrecht became a gateway for salvation, a portal to eternity. With one eye on paradise, and the other on the cold deserts of the north, its evangelists dwelt in the interstices between the *civitas Dei* and the *civitas terrena*.

The Cross of St Martin

One of the early buildings to rise on Utrecht's post-Roman *Domplein* was the Heilig-Kruiskapel. As I have noted, some questions surround the chapel's origins. Nevertheless, by c. 975 the core zone of the cross had begun to assume its recognizable medieval configuration with its three churches standing in their familiar locations: the Maartenskerk to the north, the Sint-Salvatorkerk to the south, and the Heilig-Kruiskapel "wedged" into the alley between.[33] Though the chapel was probably built in the tenth century, it is unclear when the structure received the name by which it was most widely known. The earliest extant reference to a "cross chapel" occurs in Theofrid's early twelfth-century *Vita* of Willibrord.[34] There is also a reference to the "*capella sancte Crucis*" in a charter from 1220.[35] Both Theofrid and the fourteenth-century chronicler Beka imply that the name was ancient, but the matter is not certain.[36] Nevertheless, considering the age of the chapel as well as its near physical centrality to the heart of the *Domplein*, discussion of its possible role in the *kerkenkruis* program has been muted. This omission is surprising, as one would have thought that a memorial dedicated to the instrument of Christ's Passion, sitting in the midst of a purportedly cruciform cluster of churches, might warrant the scrutiny of those seeking to establish the monument's historicity.

Bearing this in mind, consider the architectural tableau that greeted visitors to Willibrord's former outpost after c. 1105 (and perhaps from as early as c. 975): in the southern precincts of the *castellum*, the figure of Christ stood in early Romanesque majesty. Slightly to the north, the image of St Martin of Tours, the redeemed Roman officer and patron of Frankish kings, regarded his Saviour. The great bishop and smasher of heathen images did so while triumphantly surmounting the wreckage of the former pagan bulwark. These two larger churches, which stubbornly asserted their primacy throughout the medieval period, were reconciled in a sustained architectural dialogue by the mediating presence of the holy cross.

I will leave to others the discussion of the potential significance of a cross (*sancta crux*) and "cape" (*capella*) mediating the space between Christ and St Martin. However, depending on whether the Heilig-Kruiskapel received its name before or after the establishment of the *Domplein*'s satellite churches, at least two scenarios are distinctly possible: 1) Bernulf's *kerkenkruis* emerged, not only as memorial to the Emperor Conrad, but also as an outgrowth of the symbolism inherent in the chapel's rapport with the other architectural elements of the *castellum*; 2) the chapel was rededicated to conform to the emerging symbolic program swirling around it.

The Cross of Atonement

With the building of the capitular and abbey churches in the eleventh century, the civic cross attained its mature medieval configuration. Indeed, Bishop Bernulf's architectural intervention on the *Domplein* was transformative: it established the *kerkenkruis*, thus endowing Utrecht with a profound and lasting metaphor for Christ's sacrifice. In a manner not unlike the Byzantine-inspired altar crosses of the era, with their historiated finial emblems, the *kerkenkruis* can easily be read as a didactic architectural re-enactment of the crucifixion. When we orient the cross of churches towards the east, it discloses an immediately recognizable narrative: the various elements of the composition engage in what amounts to an everlasting re-enactment of the Atonement. As the Saviour hangs near the centre of the cross, Mary laments below. Peter, the heavenly gatekeeper hovers above, waiting to receive or reject the souls of the departed. Flanking the scene are Old Testament and New Testament, *synagoga* and *ecclesia*, in the forms of John the Baptist and Paul the Apostle. John is separated slightly from the composition by the flowing waters of the Rijn, here transformed into the redemptive Jordan. Owing to the Janskerk's double dedication (to both the Baptist and St John the Apostle), the

"disciple whom Jesus loved" stands at his right hand.[37] Thus, the recumbent body of the perpetually dying Saviour drew monks, canons and ultimately the entire population of the diocese into the story of Christ's passion: his invisible sinews forever reaching out and claiming both city and suburbs for the episcopal core.

Evidence that at least some members of Utrecht's clerical community understood and embraced this symbolism might even exist in archival materials from the Pieterskerk. In a discussion of Pieterskerk's *pand*, or capitular cloister, G.G. Calkoen noted, almost in passing, that during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there existed a solitary tree at the centre of the court-yard: a thorn-tree. Records of the chapter indicate that during the period, 1424–1512, the thorn-tree's vitality was carefully monitored by members of Pieterskerk's community; indeed, the thorn-tree appears to have warranted at least three separate entries in Pieterskerk's yearbook: in 1424, 1470, and again in 1512.[38] So, for almost a century, perhaps longer, the canons of Pieterskerk used this living reminder of humanity's expulsion from Paradise as one of the focal points of their institutional culture: they nurtured the tree and gave it pride of place in the midst of their community. Indeed, few who saw it could have denied the symbolic elegance of its situation: here at the summit of the civic cross was a representation of Christ's miserable diadem, the crown with which he had earned sovereignty over the cosmos.[39]

The Episcopal Cross

To recognize the Anglo-Saxons' mission beyond the Rijn, Charles Martel granted Utrecht a charter of immunity (723 CE). This instrument exempted bishops from secular jurisdiction. It also extended immunity beyond the walls of the *castellum*. The charter specifically states that the immunity would encompass land "tam infra muros quam et a foris."[40] This was the real beginning of Utrecht's medieval identity, because in granting the bishops such wide-ranging authority, Charles created an ecclesiastical enclave in which the prince-bishop would rule as both spiritual and temporal overlord. Largely because of the powers accorded by this diploma, emperors had to be very careful when appointing or confirming candidates in the Utrecht See. Throughout the Ottonian and Salian periods, those who sat on the episcopal throne of Utrecht were increasingly protégés of the German kings. They were richly endowed with lands and revenues from northwestern Europe. By the early decades of the eleventh century, the bishops of Utrecht were amongst the wealthiest and most influential prelates in Western Europe.

By placing the satellites of the *kerkenkruis* just beyond the gates of the *castellum*, and by aligning them with these apertures, Bishop Bernulf offered a clear visual metaphor for the charter of immunity. The capitular churches and the Benedictine abbey were, in many ways, "institutionally contiguous" with the cathedral. The dignitaries of the monastery and chapters comprised the most important figures of the bishop's *mensa*, advising him and helping him to govern the diocese. After the construction of the satellite churches, one could stand in the middle of the *Domplein* and look out in every cardinal direction towards a physical manifestation of the bishop's authority. Indeed, having established his jurisdiction *infra muros*, Bernulf now reached out palpably, as was his right, beyond the Roman walls. The need for such an assertion of privilege no doubt accelerated after c. 1000, when, as part of the general burgeoning of town life across northern Europe, burghers and proletarians began to encroach upon these lands at the confluence of the rivers. This was also a period when the Counts of Holland were pressing against the traditional claims of the Utrecht bishops.

That Bernulf and his contemporaries recognized the cosmological significance of this arrangement, and used it in the service of episcopal goals, can perhaps be ascertained from the fact that after he died, the bishop's remains were interred not as was customary, in the Sint-Salvatorkerk or the Maartenskerk, but, rather, in the cemetery (and later the choir) of the Pieterskerk.[41] While it was certainly not unprecedented for bishops to be buried outside their cathedrals, throughout the Middle Ages the location of interment was a matter of deliberation: the choice of burial site conveyed rank, status, and final intentions.[42] Thus, the decision to inter Bernulf in the Pieterskerk must be read through the lens of medieval social expectations. His interment beyond the *Domplein*, in the easternmost of the city's new churches, near an altar dedicated to the first Bishop of Rome, suggests a deep level of consciousness and intentionality. And while it is difficult to reconstruct the precise motives of those who assigned this location, it appears that the act asserted the episcopal presence, in a very real sense, beyond its traditional bounds. The builder of the *kerkenkruis*, or his successors, drew the satellites into the episcopal gravity and tethered them there until the Resurrection of the Dead.

The Papal-imperial Cross

According to the conventional view, the *kerkenkruis* was built explicitly to memorialize the Emperor Conrad II. Accordingly, it modeled a view of the papacy that was firmly anchored to the

imperial vision of the relationship between the temporal and spiritual realms. The monument articulated a vision of unity which reified the broader political claims of the German monarchs.

Consider, for example, that the satellites of Utrecht's *kerkenkruis* shared their dedications with Rome's four patriarchical basilicas. These are Rome's fourth-century pontifical churches, whose altars are reserved for papal masses: San Giovanni in Laterano, San Paulo fuori le Mura, San Pietro in Vaticano, and Santa Maria Maggiore.[43] Bearing in mind that the *kerkenkruis* was erected at the beginning of the Investiture Contest, just as reformers and reactionaries had begun to hurl rhetorical salvos back and forth across the Alps, it seems unlikely that such pointedly papal symbolism was arbitrary. The executors of the *kerkenkruis* were numbered amongst the architects and beneficiaries of the so-called "Imperial System." Bishop Bernulf's patron, the Emperor Henry III, was amongst the most powerful monarchs of the Salian house: not only did he hand-pick the episcopal leaders of the German Church, he also determined which clerics would rise to the Holy See. Indeed, it was Henry who convened the famous Synod of Sutri in 1046 which deposed three rival claimants to the papal office, and put in their place Suidger of Morsleben, who styled himself Clement II—the first of a series of German-speaking reform popes. The most famous of the early reformers was Emperor Henry's cousin, Bruno of Egisheim, that is, Pope Leo IX. Henry III jealously defended his right to invest bishops with ring and crozier, and, thus, the vision of a purified and compliant church animated much of his ecclesiastical policy. When his father, whom he no doubt viewed as a priest-king in the mold of the patriarch David, died at Utrecht, Henry or his agents appear to have used the occasion to fabricate an image of papal-imperial concord.

The imperial voice is especially audible at the western end of the cross. Just as the Pieterskerk came to be associated with ecclesiastical authority, so the Mariakerk came to symbolize the power of secular princes. It was Utrecht's coronation church. Aart Mekking observes that royal and imperial chapels throughout medieval Germany were customarily named for the Blessed Virgin, and that this convention stemmed from the dedication of Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen.[44] He notes that imperial churches and cathedrals throughout the Empire decorated their western ends with especially rich architectural allegories of emperorship. Thus, for Mekking, the *kerkenkruis* corresponds at a civic level with the *Kaiserdome*.[45]

At a cosmological level, the symbolism is apposite: just as the north-south dyadic relationship between the Janskerk and the Paulusabdij might represent *synagoga* and *ecclesia*, so too the Mariakerk-Pieterskerk dyad could be read as follows:

Mary = flesh = temporal authority
Peter = spirit = ecclesiastical authority

With his *cathedra* situated at the intersection of this axis, the prince-bishop, as the agent of both king and pope, mediated these competing spheres.

Thus, for some, the *kerkenkruis* may have expressed a vision of the papacy which accorded strongly with the claims of the Salian emperors. It was a view which asserted the right of kings to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs in order to protect the sanctity and integrity of true religion.

The Evangelical Cross

In addition to asserting jurisdictional claims, the four satellite churches of the *kerkenkruis* might also have made an "understandable utterance" related to the Incarnation. That is, each of the patrons of the churches outside the *castellum* announced the Lord, in some manner, to the waiting world. As God's unblemished receptacle, Mary made the Word flesh. Before Jesus began his ministry, John the Baptist prepared the way in the desert. Peter was Christ's first vicar. Paul announced the Lord to the whole world. Thus, each of the four patrons was primarily remembered as a kind of "Christ-bearer," revealing him to humanity. The intentionality of the design might be discerned from the fact that, when the churches are "read" clockwise, starting in the west (that is, at the base of the cross), they exhibit a diachronic or historical progression. At each cardinal point, the Gospel story unfolded and Christ was increasingly made manifest. That these evangelical voices radiated outward beyond the *Domplein*, to the four corners of the world, also seems significant: it speaks to the bishop's office of preaching and the missionary origins of the Utrecht diocese.[46]

Conclusion

Ample visual data have been left to us by this profoundly visual age. The decidedly urbane culture of medieval Utrecht would have understood, embraced, and speculated on the symbolic meaning of the buildings which dominated their city. Similarly, the city's medieval draughtsmen imbued their architecture with intimations of eternity. As I have demonstrated, medieval ecclesiastical builders, and those who employed them, had a lively and enduring engagement with the architectural cruciform. They imposed it, discerned it, and

manufactured it at a number of magnitudes and in a variety of situations throughout their constructions. Each iteration was intended to magnify a single, irreducible truth: Christ rose from the dead and, in consequence, claimed Lordship over this world. As an emblem of that victory, the architectural cross was polysemous and could be read in a number of parallel and overlapping ways. It reified the authority of those whom God had chosen as the temporal and spiritual leaders of his people. It emphasized the need to spread the Good News of the Resurrection throughout the *orbis terrarum* and it pointed to the immensity of the Atonement. At every stage, moreover, medievals confronted some of the most pressing questions of their age: how Christians ought to live with one another, what it meant to inhabit a city, and, ultimately, how the *artifex principalis*, the Supreme Architect of the Universe, communicated with his creation.

1 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991 [1974]); Paul Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography," *The Burlington Magazine*, 130/1019 (1988): 116–21.

2 Samuel Muller, "De Sint Salvatorkerk te Utrecht. Eene Merovingische kathedraal," in *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 25 (1898): 21–73, and Samuel Muller, *Oude huizen te Utrecht* (The Hague, 1902), see esp. p. 8.

3 See Lex Bosman's summary of the historiography, "The Invention of a Notion: On the Historiography of the Churches of Bishop Bernold and the Cross of Churches in Utrecht," in Elisabeth de Bièvre (ed.), *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (Leeds, 1996), pp. 88–98. See also Aart J.J. Mekking, "Een kruis van kerken rond Koenraads hart. Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de functie en de symbolische betekenis van het Utrechtse Kerkenkruis alsmedevan die to Bamberg en te Paderborn," *Utrecht kruispunt van de middeleeuwse kerk* (Zutphen, 1988), pp. 21–53 and the English resumé, "A Cross of Churches Around Conrad's Heart: An Analysis of the Function and Symbolism of the Cross of Churches in Utrecht, and those of Bamberg and Paderborn," in *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent*, pp. 99–111. Cf. Aart J.J. Mekking, "Het Kerkenkruis voor de rechter," *Oud Utrecht*, 62/5 (May, 1989): 52–6 and Tarquinius Hoekstra, "The Early Topography of the City of Utrecht and its Cross of Churches," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 141 (1988): 1–34.

4 See Englebert Hendrick Ter Kuile, "De kerken van bisschop Bernold," *Bulletin Koninkliijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* (Hereafter, *Bulletin KNOB*), 58 (1959): 145–64; Bernulf's patronage of three churches of the *kerkenkruis* (that is, the Janskerk, the Pieterskerk, and the Paulusabdij), as well as Deventer's Lebuinuskerk, was once visually depicted in a (now lost) mural above the chancel arch of the Pieterskerk. An image of the mural is preserved in a seventeenth-century drawing by Pieter Saenredam. See Utrechts Archief, MS T.A. Ib 4.2.

5 Johanna Maria van Winter, "Oorsprong en betekenis ven het Utrechtse kerkenkruis," *Domkerk: Bericht van de Stichting Vrienden van de Domkerk*, 15/1 (May, 2003): 3–11.

6 Mekking, "Een kruis van kerken," p. 21.

7 Charlotte J. Broer, "Het Utrecht kerkenkruis: middeeuws model of moderne mythe?" *Domkerk: Bericht van de Stichting Vrienden ven de Domkerk*, 15/1 (May, 2003): 13–27. Cf. Charlotte J. Broer, *Het Utrechts kerkenkruis: fiet of fictie? Een beoordeling in het licht van de vroege ontwikkeling van de Utrechtse kerk* (Utrecht, 2001).

8 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 12–87; see also Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Oxford, 1994 [1979]), pp. 1–21.

9 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998).

10 See Hoekstra, "Utrecht and its Cross of Churches," pp. 6–17.

11 Charlotte J. Broer and Martin W. de Bruijn, "Waar Stonden in Utrecht de eerste kerken? Een overzicht van verdwenen kerkelijke bebouwing circa 250–950," (Utrecht, 2010), stable URL: http://www.broerendebruijn.nl/EersteUtrechtsekerken.html. See also Charlotte J. Broer and Martin W. de Bruijn, "De eerste kerken op het Domplein in Utrecht" (Utrecht, 2010), stable URL: http://www.broerendebruijn.nl/KerkenDomplein.html.

12 Broer and de Bruijn, "De eerste kerken op het Domplein." Cf. Huib L. de Groot, "De Heilige Kruiskapel te Utrecht," *Bulletin KNOB*, 93 (1994): 135–49 and Cees A. M. Rooijen, "De datering van de Heilig-Kruiskapel te Utrecht," *Bulletin KNOB*, 99

(2000): 62–7.

13 Hoekstra, "Utrecht and its Cross of Churches," pp. 6–9.

14 See Herman M. Haverkate, *Een kerk van papier. De geschiedenis van de voormalige Mariakerk te Utrecht* (Zutphen, 1985).

15 Hoekstra, "Utrecht and its Cross of Churches," p. 15.

16 Richard Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (Harvard, 1967): 117–18. See also Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 221–76.

17 Quoted in Keith D. Lilley, "Cities of God? Medieval Urban Forms and their Christian Symbolism," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new series, 29/3 (Sep., 2004): 298.

18 Erwin Panofsky (ed.), *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1979).

19 Quoted in Lilley, "Cities of God," p. 298.

20 Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp. 252–68.

21 Von Simson, *Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York, 1956), plate 9.

22 *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France au Moyen Âge XI^e—XII^e siècles*, eds Victor Mortet and Paul Deschamps (Paris, 1911), p. 160. Quoted in Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe*, 1100–1389 (New York, 2003), p. 13.

23 Von Simson, *Gothic Cathedral*, p. 36, n. 38.

24 See, for example, John 2:19.

25 Peter Fingesten, "Topographical and Anatomical Aspects of the Gothic Cathedral," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 20/1 (1961): 3–23 (esp. 13). See also Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942): 1–33. p. 8.

26 Trevor Dean, *The Towns of Italy in the later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2000), p. 17. Quoted in Lilley, "Cities of God," p. 300.

27 Cited in David Michael Palliser, *Chester: Contemporary Descriptions by Residents and Visitors* (Chester, 1980), pp. 6–7. Quoted in Lilley, "Cities of God," p. 300.

28 Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," p. 8.

29 London, British Library, MS Add. 28681, fol. 9.

30 Albert Lionel Frederick. Rivet and Kenneth Jackson, "The British Section of the Antonine Itinerary," *Britannia*, 1 (1970): 34–82 (esp. 59).

31 Marjo Montforts, "The Beginnings of Utrecht: Roman Fort and *Vicus*," in *Utrecht, Britain, and the Continent*, pp. 1–11.

32 Vito Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages*, trans. Shayne Mitchell (Cambridge, 2007 [1994]), pp. 71–5.

33 Huib L. de Groot, "De Heilige Kruiskapel te Utrecht," pp. 135–49.

34 Theofrid of Echternach, *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, ed. Albert Poncelet, *Acta Sanctorum, Novembris*, 4 (Bruxelles, 1916), c. 9.

35 *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, eds. Samuel Muller and Arie Cornelis Bouman (5 vols, Utrecht, 1920), vol. 2, n. 687, p. 143.

36 Charlotte J. Broer and Martin W. de Bruin, "Bonifacius en de Utrechtse kerk," in E.S.C. Erkelens-Buttinger (ed.), *De kerk en de Nederlanden: archieven, instellingen, samenleving* (Hilversum, 1997), pp. 49–56. See Muller, "De Salvatorkerk te Utrecht," p. 43 and Johannis de Beka, *Chronographia*, ed. Willelm Noomen (Leiden, 1954), c. 9, stable URL: http://www.inghist.nl/pdf/beke/bekeL02deel1.pdf.

37 The Janskerk was originally dedicated to John the Baptist, and only acquired the patronage of John the Evangelist in the thirteenth century. See Ellem N.

Palmboom, *Het kapittel van Sint Jan te Utrecht: een onderzoek naar verwerving, beheer en administratie van het oudste goederenbezit (elfde-veertiende eeuw)* (Hilversum, 1995), pp. 19–22.

38 G.G. Calkoen, "Beschrijving der St.-Pieterskerk te Utrecht" (Ph.D dissertation, Utrecht, 1903–06): 15–19. Cf. Coenraad Liebrecht Temminck-Groll, "De St.-Pieterskerk te Utrecht," *Bulletin KNOB*, 81 (1982): 75–118. A thorn-tree still stands in the cloister.

39 The Maartenskerk was one of many European churches to claim the Holy Lance. That it was situated where the Saviour's "flank" rested might also suggest medieval awareness of the design. A vestige of this tradition might exist in the van Eyck brothers' allegorical triptych *Het Lam Gods*, where, in their depiction of the *arma Christi* in the central panel, the artists show the Lance penetrating the cross and then pointing directly towards the lantern of Utrecht's *Domtoren*.

40 *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, eds. Muller and Bouman, vol. 1, n. 35, pp. 25–6.

41 Tine Jonker-Klijn and Richard Roks, *De Bisschoppen van Utrecht: van 690 tot 1581* (Utrecht, 2008), pp. 56–61.

42 See, for example, Edward James, "Burial and Status in the Early Medieval West," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 39 (1989): 23–40.

43 See esp. Hoekstra, "Utrecht and its Cross of Churches," p. 9; Mekking, "Een kruis van kerken," p. 40, and Bosman, "The Invention of a Notion: On the Historiography of the Churches of Bishop Bernold and the Cross of Churches in Utrecht," p. 95.

44 Mekking, "Cross of Churches," p. 105.

45 Ibid. See also Dethard von Winterfled, *Die Kaiserdome Speyer, Mainz, Worms und ihr romanisches Umland* (Würzburg, 1993).

46 An intimation of this image can perhaps be found in a painting above the crossing of the Pieterskerk. There, a circular fresco depicts four angels at the corners of the earth, running with open gospels in their hands.

PART II
Spatial Networks and Territories

Chapter 5
From *Plebs* to *Parochia*: The Perception of the Church in Space from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century (Dioceses of Rennes, Dol, and Saint-Malo)[1]

Anne Lunven
Translated from the French by Emanuele Lugli

Research on ecclesiastical structures has long rested on the postulate that dioceses and parishes were perfectly defined territories originating from antique models. Grouped within the Empire's old provinces, dioceses derived from the territories of the *civitates*, whereas parishes took the place of *fundi*, that is of domains controlled by the *villae*. This approach, which regarded the Church as the guarantor of the antique territorial tradition, has recently been questioned.[2] Indeed many studies have rejected the axiom according to which space is an ahistorical object whose forms exist *a priori*.[3] Rather, its construction emerges as the product of a system of representations and social practices.[4] The modalities for structuring space change in relation to its society.[5] It is thus illusory to think that medieval communities preserved spatial structures that were no longer of the same use. Recent studies have also highlighted that the process of "territorialization" of ecclesiastical structures occurred over the *longue durée* and was affected by a series of major transformations at both the doctrinal and social levels.[6] As to the parish, its territorial formation cannot be separated from the ecclesiastical evolution that unfolded between the tenth and the eleventh century.[7] That process began with the consecration rite, which, by materializing the divine on earth, led to the formation of sacred spaces in both the church and the cemetery. Finally, we should take into account the social as well as the ideological processes in the polarization of places. The parish came to be defined as the radial extension of a sacred pole (the church-cemetery pole) in space and whose boundaries were more

clearly defined during the Gregorian reform, when the power of the parish strengthened.[8] In order to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between the Church and its surrounding space, this chapter will focus on the passage from the word *plebs* to the word *parochia* in defining the ecclesiastical communities of Brittany between the eleventh and the twelfth century.

In the Breton part of the Armorican peninsula, the word *plebs* indicated both religious as well as civic structures in the ninth century, before *parochia* came to substitute the term two or three centuries later. It is instructive to understand the meaning of such a terminological change if we agree that, "to the historians' great despair, men do not normally change their vocabulary when they change their customs."[9]

Within local historiography, the use of the Latin word *plebs* testifies to a religious history specific to Brittany. Indeed, the term was not employed in ancient Neustria, the eastern region of the peninsula, where Rennes and Nantes stand.[10] The disappearance of the word and its replacement by *parochia* in Brittany in the twelfth century has been interpreted on one side as an effect of the progressive uniformization of ecclesiastical structures and on the other as the result of the full integration of the region to the Franco-Roman world. One must nevertheless be reminded that use of the word *plebs* to denote local ecclesiastical communities was not specific to Brittany c. 800–1000. One finds it in Carolingian conciliar documentation as well as in the deeds of northern Italy.[11] The word *parochia*, meaning "parish," spread quite late in Western Europe.[12] Up to the ninth century, in Brittany the word *plebs* did not oppose geographically *parochia*, whose diffusion east of the peninsula followed the same chronology as in Brittany. However, examination of the meanings of the two words can provide a preliminary path to understanding the change in vocabulary. The Latin *plebs* meant first of all "people" and referred to a human community before developing a spatial connotation. *Parochia*, a compound of the Greek word *oikos* (house) and of the prefix *para-* (against/next to), instead denoted a relationship to space with reference to the Church along a center-periphery relationship.

The research frame of this chapter, which focuses on the dioceses of Rennes, Dol, and Alet (or Saint Malo, from the twelfth century), offers a unique opportunity to analyze the exchange between the two terms as it occurs from the cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Sauveur of Redon, a main source of information about the Breton *plebes*.[13] Compiled from the end of the eleventh to the mid-twelfth century, the cartulary assembled Carolingian acts that provide substantial information for an area of 3,100 square kilometers around the abbey of Redon, which was founded in 823.[14] After a documentary gap in the

tenth century, the cartulary expanded and grew in variety during the Gregorian Reform, when donations to abbeys increased. The cartulary of Redon contains acts dating to the mid-twelfth century for all the abbeys that extended their temporal power in high Brittany, both the local ones, such as Saint-Georges de Rennes and Saint-Melaine de Rennes, and those far away, such as Marmoutier and Saint-Florent de Saumur.[15]

This examination begins with the ninth century in order to highlight the function of the Breton *plebs* and then moves to the eleventh century to track the meanings associated to the term *parochia*. Throughout this narrative, the cartulary of Redon offers a privileged point of view, one that also highlights the historical scenario beyond the geographical horizon of the dioceses of Vannes and Nantes.

The Breton *Plebs*

Plebs was a recurring term in the conciliary documentation of the late Empire and of the early Middle Ages. According to Paul Aebischer, it was first of all useful in denoting Christians in opposition to pagans and then ended up detailing and designating the worshippers of a local or episcopal church in opposition to the clergy.[16] Starting from the eighth/ninth century, the term acquired a spatial sense, that of a projection of the ecclesiastical community onto the ground, to mention an image of Michel Lauwers.[17] The cartulary of Redon testifies to a similar use for the same period.[18] With 168 occurrences during the Carolingian period, *plebs* was employed frequently.[19] At that time, *Plebs* was often accompanied by a toponym and, as a compound, started giving shape to what historians call *plous* and which they first date to the ninth century. As an example, it suffices to mention the *plebs* Lan—today's Plélan-le-Grand—which the cartulary of Redon reports as *Plebelan* or *Ploilan*.[20] Every *plebs*, however, did not necessarily become a *plous*. Only eight out of the 51 *plous* in the Redon cartulary went through this evolution.[21] Such scarcity is the reason why we will not employ *plous* as equivalent to *plebs*. The former only designates some toponymic formations derived from *plebs*, according to a seemingly aleatory linguistic evolution.[22]

Geographically speaking, the census of these *plebes* reveals a regular network of administrative centers, which stood at around ten kilometers or less from the abbey of Redon (see Map 5.1). Their diffusion stopped along the "Loth line," an approximate eastern boundary that indicates the maximal extension of the Breton tongue in the ninth century before its progressive ebb.[23] The towns along this

line—Bourg-des-Comptes, Pléchâtel, Marsac-sur-Don and Bouvron—were at the limits of those communities that employed the term *plebs*.

Map 5.1 Use of *plebs, vicaria*, and *condita* in ninth-century texts (Anne Lunven)

In 75 percent of the citations (that is, 125 occurrences), *plebs* was used to localize possessions. In this form, it represented the Breton equivalent of the Franks' administrative units of *condita, vicaria*, and *centena*, employed east of the Loth line.[24] Only occasionally did Breton scribes use the formula *plebs condita*, perhaps under the influence of contemporary Frankish forms.[25] *Plebs* was then the place of operation of the *machtiern*, a public agent that administered justice and collected

taxes, similarly to the Frank's *vicarius*.[26]

Plebs, however, did not only denote an area; it also acquired a social meaning as evidenced by the expression *coram plebe*, from which the term *plebenses* derived. This expression defined the community as the whole of inhabitans of a *plebs*. At Guer, they were called the *Guernenses* and at Pleucadeuc, the *Pluiucatochenses*.[27] In both these cases, we are talking of an organized group which must have made important concessions to their *plebs*. It is with this understanding that wealthy Roiandreh sent her priest to the church of Médréac to tell the inhabitants of that *plebs* that she has donated important alms to the abbey of Redon.[28]

The church constituted the meeting point for the community of the *plebs*. Above all they met there for the Sunday mass, as witnessed by many donations. Yet, the donors also took advantage of such gatherings to guarantee their offerings. In 860, one Guetenoc donated a freehold to the abbey of Redon "on a Sunday, in the church of Ruffiac, after the mass, in front of all the present people."[29] The place of worship represented a privileged frame for the establishment of juridical acts, which could have been confirmed in front of or inside the church (67 attestations total). Notably, the building tends to have been identified more by the name of *plebs* than that of its dedicated saint. We often encounter references to the *ecclesia Guer* or the *ecclesia Ruffiac*. There are of course other places of worship within the *plebs*, but the vocabulary of the cartulary of Redon does not indicate any hierarchy between major and minor churches. For example, the church of Cunfol is called *ecclesia* (as opposed to a *capella*) even if it stands within the Renac *plebs*.[30]

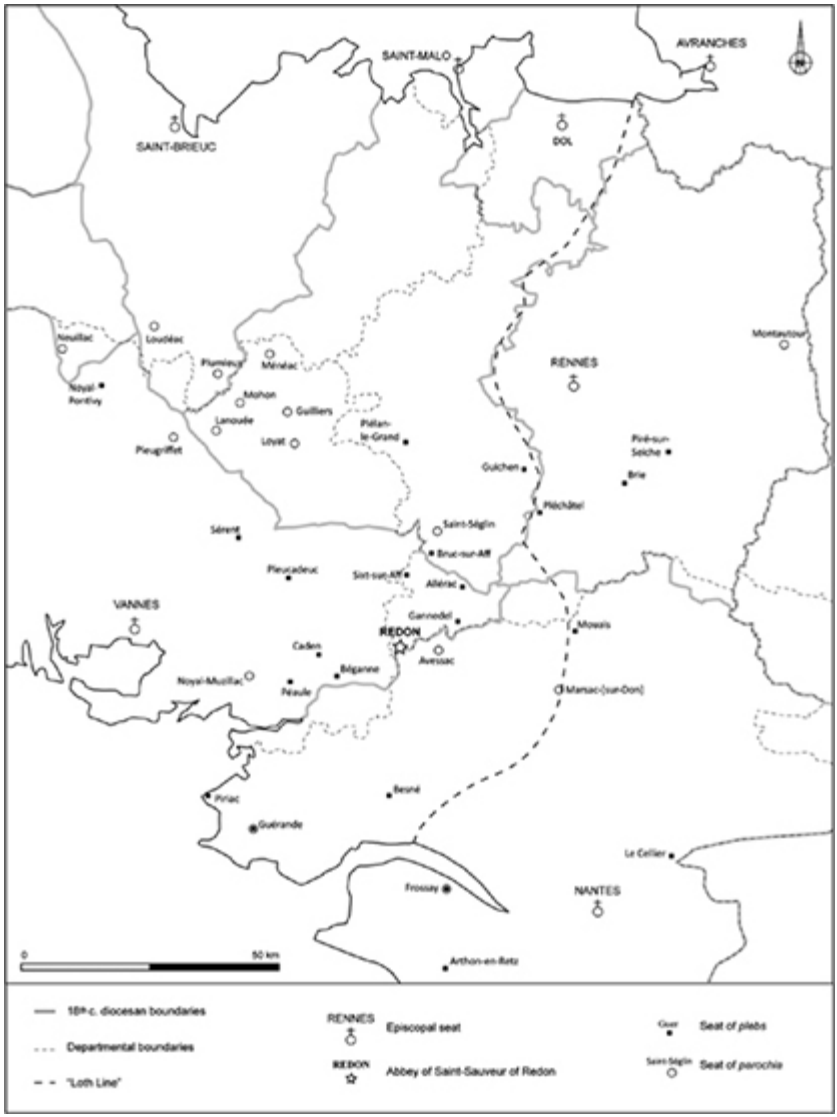
Each community is served by an important clergy. After the studies of Wendy Davies we know that each *plebs* comprised a clergy of three or four priests.[31] Their ecclesiastical tasks were hereditarily transmitted and supervised by the local elite rather than the bishop.[32]

In the ninth century, then, the word *plebs* assumed various meanings: it was at once a civil and religious structure and it constituted the basic unity of social organization. Its community had a leader and was developed around a clearly identified center, which stood as the seat of religious and public life, since, besides housing the divine offices, the church sheltered assemblies and economic transactions. The *plebs* covered a more or less defined area, which constituted its spatial denominator.[33]

From *Plebs* to *Parochia*

In the eleventh century, while continuing to appear in the acts of

Redon, the use of *plebs* spread in geographical space: it crossed the Loth line and was employed, for instance, in documents for the towns of Piré, Brie, and Cellier (see Map 5.2).[34] It is also attested in the cartularies that came from other establishments, such as the abbey of Saint-Georges de Rennes, where it is also used in reference to Chavagne.[35] Further, documents concerning the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Méen, which the duke of Brittany undertook in 1024–34 mention the *plebs Guadel*, that is Gaël.[36] The term also appears in documents outside of Brittany. The Black Book and the White Book of Saint-Florent de Saumur contain identical copies of the donation to the church of Saint-Georges de Châtillon-en-Vendelais, whose site is described "in plebe qui vocatur Castellon" ["in the plebs called Castellon"].[37] The use of the word *plebs* remained, however, marginal as it was progressively substituted by *parochia* in the region from the first half of the eleventh century.[38] The term also appears in the archives of distant abbeys, such as Saint-Florent de Saumur and Marmoutier, as well as in local ones, as shown in the acts of the monastery of Saint-Georges de Rennes. Although we find early attestations of the word *parochia* in the cartulary of Redon, it did not replace *plebs* before 1112, the year of its last appearance. *Plebs* and *parochia* then co-existed throughout the eleventh century (see Table 5.1).[39] This practice, which testifies to the growing obsolescence of *plebs*, allows us to follow the change in usage. In order to complete the historical picture, however, we need to turn to other contemporary Breton sources.



Map 5.2 Use of *plebs* and *parochia* in the eleventh and the twelfth century in the Cartulary of Redon (Anne Lunven)

The word *parochia* first appears in documents from the ninth century. In the *Vita* of Saint Malo, composed around the year 870 by the deacon Bili, the term is used several times to designate what today, for the sake of convenience, we call a diocese.[40] It reappears with the same meaning in an 833 act of the cartulary of Redon, which identified a possession in Pluherlin and, more precisely, "in parochia Venedie," that is the diocese of Vannes.[41] The passage could have been a mistake by the copyist since at the time the common expression for locating possessions was "in pago Venedie" ["in the rural areas of

Vannes"] and the 833 act is the sole ninth-century attestation of the term in the cartulary. Still, in the following century, it was employed five times across four documents dated between 910 and 919, which list the monastery's possessions. In the formula "parochia Sanctii Salvatori," the term denotes the temporal possessions of Saint-Sauveur, which, according to the act, defended the abbey from ravages and looting.[42] In other contemporary citations, the term is used as a synonym for *monachia* and usually designates a donation to the monastery. The expressions "in parrochia sempiterna" or "in perpetua parrochia," employed throughout the tenth century and, lastly, in 1100, derive from this meaning and refer to the formula "in monachia sempiterna," which was formerly employed by the monks to qualify a donation in perpetuity.[43]

Starting from the eleventh century, the term *parochia* conveyed a new meaning as it was used to denote the old *plebes* of Lanouée, Mohon, Marsac, and Guérande (see Map 5.2).[44] The two terms became then interchangeable (in some documents Frossay is alternatively defined as *plebs* or *parochia*) and, between the eleventh and the twelfth century, they were employed in equal proportion. Between 1009 and 1140 in the cartulary of Redon, *plebs* and *parochia* both appear 24 times (see Table 5.1).[45] The identification of the authors of the acts did not prove useful as a means to determine the preference for either term since the cartulary is mostly a product of the monks of Redon.[46] *Plebs* and *parochia* were even employed in the same act, which was dated between 1009 and 1038.[47] What we can determine, however, is whether the word choice had meaning and if we can detect a difference in usage.

Table 5.1 Comparative study of the use of the words *plebs* and *parochia* in the Cartulary of Redon in the eleventh and twelfth century (Anne Lunven)

	plebs				*parochia*			
	11th c.		12th c.		11th c.		12th c.	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Number of mentions	13	–	11	–	13	–	11	–
Followed by a toponym	12	92.3	9	81.8	3	23.1	8	72.7
Followed by a hagionym	0	0	0	0	1	7.7	2	18.2
Used with a locality	11	84.6	7	63.6	2	15.4	7	63.6

The comparative study of the two terms in the cartulary reveals

that during the eleventh century, *plebs* is always often followed by a toponym (92.3 percent). This rarely occurred for *parochia* (23.1 percent), which is usually followed by a hagionym (7.7 percent in the eleventh century and 18.2 percent in the twelfth century). Finally, the word *plebs* was preferred to that of *parochia* when locating a possession (84.6 percent vs 15.4 percent). During the course of the twelfth century, however, these differences faded away and *parochia* and *plebs* are used as spatial referents in the same proportions (63.6 percent) (see Figure 5.1). In the other available sources, the term *parochia* is also employed to locate land (65 percent of mentions in the eleventh century and 61.8 percent in the twelfth century).[48]

Contrary to the hypothesis I presented in the introduction, the word *parochia* then seems to have a less direct relationship with space than *plebs*, at least when we look at the cartulary of Redon. Nevertheless, use of a saint's name after the word *parochia* is an original feature that indicates an unprecedented relationship of dependence to the church, whose dedication became a genitive. A *parochia* is then associated to a patron saint, as seen in the example of the "parochia Sancti Siginni," literally "the parish of Saint Séglin."[49] The term preserved the meaning that it had during Carolingian times, when it referred to church dependencies, whether they belonged to the bishopric or to the monastery. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *parochia* could still refer to a diocese. This meaning disappeared from the cartulary of Redon, yet it can still be found in documentation outside of Brittany. According to an act of the abbey of Saint-Florent de Saumur, dated between 1013 and 1022, Gautier, bishop of Rennes, confirmed to abbot Girard the church of Libré, located in his *parochia*.[50] This is also the meaning of the *parochia* in which Arnulf, archdeacon de Rennes, traveled, as stated in a document from the priory of the Sainte-Trinité de Fougères (Marmoutier), dated between 1089 and 1096.[51] In the twelfth century, two acts of the bishops of Rennes still employed the term in this sense.[52]

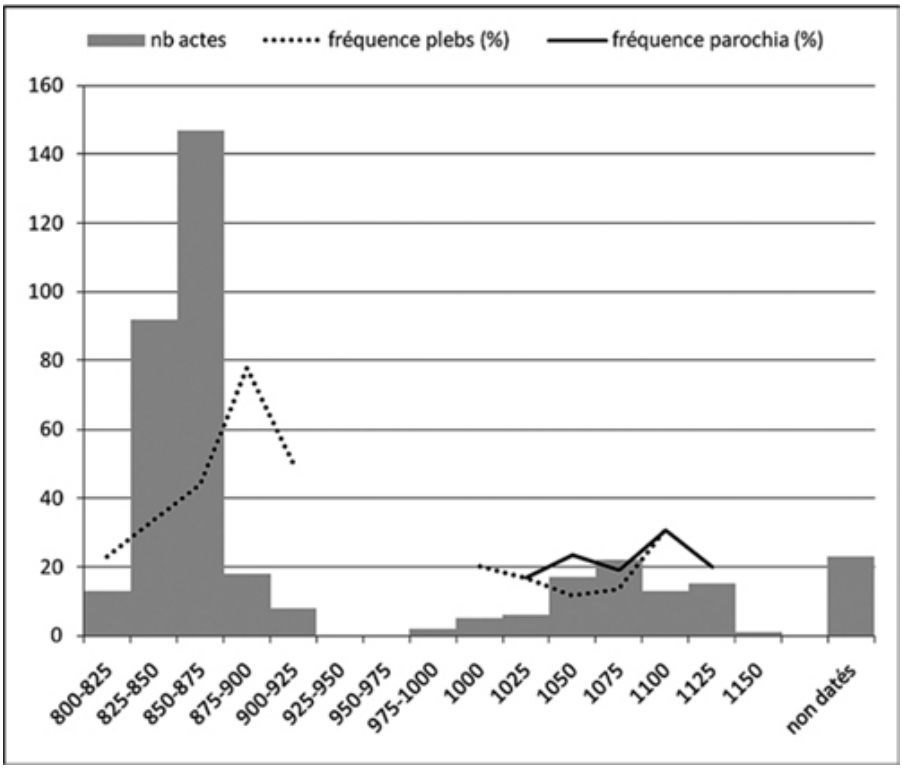


Figure 5.1 Frequency of the terms *plebs* and *parochia* in the Cartulary of Redon (Anne Lunven)

At the same time, however, *parochia* applied more often to local churches.[53] The polysemic nature of the term allowed it to refer to the rights of a church. In a document, written between 1113 and 1124, that recounts Main II de Fougères's 1070 donation of his castle to the church of Saint-Sulpice, the building was donated "cum tota parochia et sepultura," that is, "with the parish and burial rights."[54] When the priest of Montautour, Raoul, donated his church "cum sua parrochia" ["with his parish"] to the abbey of Redon in 1047, the term might have referred his ecclesiastical rather than his territorial rights.[55] In the eleventh century, *parochia* could also refer to the implementation of the rights relating to the people of a *parochia* that need to be applied to a territory. Guiddenoch, *fidelis* of the count who owned the monastery of Gahard in benefice, was the only one to administer justice upon the people of the *parochia* and to manage a variety of rights.[56] This human dimension of *parochia* emerges particularly clearly from an act in the cartulary of Redon that referred to the donation of the monastery of Sainte-Marie de Frossay in the first half of the eleventh century. As the author employed the term *plebs* to identify the building, he opted for *parochia* to refer to the people who

depended on other places of worship.[57]

Thus *parochia* could also define a human community. In 1155, Alain, bishop of Rennes, permitted the monks of Marmoutier to move the *parochia* that used to gather at the church of Saint-Sulpice de Fougères to the church of Sainte-Trinité.[58] Frequenting the same worship place then determined the borders of the parish community. Nevertheless, texts also speak of "parochiani ecclesie" ["the parishioners of a church"] or of "parochiani sancti," ["of a patron saint"] expressions that render well the dependency on the building. In this role, the parishioners paid rights to their church. The inhabitants of the Maboué *villa*, which fell under the parish of Sainte-Marie de Carfantin, were required to pay the tithes and other rents to that building as recalled in a 1087 document of the abbey of Saint-Florent de Saumur.[59] Indeed, from the end of the eleventh century, the community was defined as the inhabitants of that parish. In 1075, Main, bishop of Rennes, stated that "the parishoner [of the church of Sainte-Marie and Saint-Pierre de Vitré] is that who lives in this parish."[60] The bonds of personal dependency that linked the worshippers to a church or to the holder of a church thus progressively became territorial links. This occurred once residency determined the affiliation to a parish.

* * *

In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, vocabulary became more uniform on both sides of the Loth line. The word *plebs* was no longer confined to Breton space and ended up being replaced by *parochia*, which did not appear in the cartulary of Redon before the twelfth century. This comparative study has focused on this exceptional document in order to reveal the different uses of the latter term from *plebs*. Whereas *plebs* was employed mostly for locating possessions, according to a practice dating back to the ninth century, *parochia* indicated possessions that pertained to a church, both in the sense of sacramental/seigneurial rights and of the subjects of such rights. Later, the term developed spatial connotations, an evolution that illustrates the importance that the place of worship had in establishing a series of rights, which eventually defined its *parochia*.

The Carolingian period constituted a transitional phase. At that time, the *plebs* was defined, according to the notion of "container-contained," as an area inclusive of all its objects, among which included the church. Certainly, the Church progressively detached itself from the other objects and appeared increasingly as a unique place, the pivot of the religious and social life of a self-aware community, even if its borders were not clearly defined. The members

of the community defined themselves in relation to a space of which they were more or less conscious and not to a space of worship, to which they never expressed a direct sense of dependency. In the eleventh century, that relationship reversed: the church was no longer included in a space, but polarized it. It was from this pole that the community identified itself, which in turn was eventually defined more precisely as a territory. The toponymy of the eleventh century allows us to identify such change. The Church became more and more useful in identifying a place, a tendency in opposition to that of the ninth century, during which a town gave its name to its ecclesiastical building and to the *plebs*. The mutation of the vocabulary and the passage from the word *plebs* to *parochia* between the ninth and the twelfth century therefore does not attest to a rupture in spatial organization but rather to a restructuring of space in terms of the ecclesiastical pole.

1 This chapter is part of a Ph.D. dissertation in archeology and medieval history on the construction and organization of religious space in the dioceses of Rennes, Dol, and Saint-Malo between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries under the supervision of Daniel Pichot.

2 Amongst the most notable recent contributions to the scholarship on the medieval parish, see Dominique Iogna-Prat and Elisabeth Zadora-Rio (eds), "La Paroisse. Genèse d'une forme territoriale," *Médiévales*, 49 (2005): entire issue. On the diocese, see Florian Mazel (ed.), *L'espace du diocèse. Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (Ve–XIIIe siècle)* (Rennes, 2008); Florian Mazel, *De la cité au diocèse. Eglise, pouvoir et territoire dans l'Occident médiéval* (Mémoire d'Habilitation, Rennes, 2009).

3 The bibliography on the representation and organization of space in the Middle Ages is vast. Besides the references of the previous footnote, however, a few important contributions are: Monique Bourin and Elisabeth Zadora-Rio (eds), "Analyses de l'espace," in Jean-Claude Schmitt and Otto Gerhard Oexle (eds), *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne. Actes des colloques de Sèvres (1997) et Göttingen (1998) organisés par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et le Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte* (Paris, 2002), pp. 493–510; Michel Lauwers and Laurent Ripart, "Représentation et gestion de l'espace dans l'occident médiéval (Ve–XIIIe siècles)," in Jean-Philippe Genet (ed.), *Rome et l'Etat moderne européen: une comparaison typologique. Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris les 31 janvier, 1er et 2 février 2002* (Rome, 2007), pp. 115–71; *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et representations. Actes du XXXVIIe congrès de la SHMESP*, ed. Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Paris, 2007).

4 See Roger Brunet, Robert Ferras, and Hervé Thery, *Les mots de la géographie: dictionnaire critique* (Paris, 1993), s.v. "espace."

5 Lauwers and Ripart, "Représentation et gestion de l'espace dans l'occident médiéval (Ve–XIIIe siècles)," p. 115.

6 The structure of antique divisions of the territory has also been questioned. See Mazel, *L'espace du diocèse*, pp. 149–52. The very idea of a regular and hierarchical division of space seems to have been alien to antique societies as argued in Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, "Territoires paroissiaux et construction de l'espace vernaculaire," *Médiévales*, 49 (2005): pp. 105–20; Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, "Habitat et territoire," in Elisabeth Zadora-Rio (ed.), *Des paroisses de Touraine aux communes d'Indre-et-Loire. La formation des territoires* (Tours, 2008), pp. 105–19.

7 On the doctrine of worship places and cemeteries, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Eglise au Moyen Âge (v. 800–v. 1200)* (Paris, 2006); Michel Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière: lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2005).

8 Lauwers and Ripart, "Représentation et gestion de l'espace dans l'occident médiéval (Ve–XIIIe)," pp. 121–44; Zadora-Rio, "Habitat et territoire," pp. 105–19.

9 Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien* (Paris, 1974), p. 40: "au grand désespoir des historiens, les hommes n'ont pas coutume, chaque fois qu'ils changent de mœurs de changer de vocabulaire."

10 On the construction of an ecclesiastical model for Brittany, see René Largillière, *Les saints bretons et l'organisation chrétienne primitive dans l'Armorique bretonne* (Rennes, 1925), p. 251 and more generally André Chédeville, "L'Eglise bretonne et ses origines," in André Chédeville and Hubert Guillotel (eds), *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve–Xe siècle* (Rennes, 1984), pp. 113–51.

11 Paul Aebischer, "La diffusion de *plebs-paroisse* dans l'espace et dans le temps," *Revue de linguistique romane*, 28 (1964): pp. 143–65.

12 Michel Lauwers, “Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire. Remarques sur *parochia* dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge,” *Médiévales*, 49 (2006): pp. 11–32. The term *parochia* has remained polysemic for a long time. Henry de Suse, writes Hostiensis, was the first in 1250 to define it as “le cadre de vie pour les fidèles correspondant à un espace strictement délimité et sanctionné par le droit” [“the container for the faithful corresponding to a space strictly delimited and sanctioned by law”].

13 Throughout this chapter, I will be referring to the *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, ed. Aurélien de Courson (Paris, 1863). The manuscript today consists of 281 Carolingian acts and 100 acts dated between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Around 100 acts have been lost. Some of them have been edited by Aurélien de Courson in his appendix and have been the object of another study: *Cartulaire de l’abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon II*, eds Georges Provost and Raymond Letertre (Rennes, 2004). On the structure of the manuscript, see the introduction by Hubert Guillotel in his edition of the facsimile of the cartulary: Hubert Guillotel, “Le manuscrit,” in *Cartulaire de l’abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds André Chédeville, Hubert Guillotel, and Bernard Tanguy (Rennes, 1998), pp. 9–25.

14 The word *plebs* appeared also in the Breton Carolingian *vitae* and in the cartulary of the abbey of Landévennec. Drawn in the eleventh century, the acts of this cartulary are likely to date to the previous century: *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Landévennec*, ed. Arthur de la Borderie (Rennes, 1988); Wendy Davies, “Les chartes du Cartulaire de Landévennec,” in *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque du 15ème centenaire de l’abbaye de Landévennec, 25–26–27 avril 1985* (Bannalec, 1986), pp. 85–95.

15 For the eleventh and twelfth centuries, our corpus has just over 900 acts, mostly issued by Benedictine establishments.

16 Aebischer, “La diffusion de plebs-paroisse dans l’espace et dans le temps,” pp. 143–65.

17 Lauwers, “Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire. Remarques sur *parochia* dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge,” p. 16.

18 On the *plebs* of the cartulary of Redon; André Chédeville, “Société et économie,” in *Cartulaire de l’abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville et al., vol. 1, pp. 30–31; Wendy Davies, *Small Words: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (Los Angeles, 1998) pp. 63–7; Bernard Tanguy, “La paroisse bretonne,” in *Histoire de la paroisse. Actes de la onzième rencontre d’histoire religieuse tenue à Fontevraud les 2 et 3 octobre 1987* (Angers, 1988), pp. 9–31.

19 Regarding the identification of toponyms in the Redon cartulary, see Bernard Tanguy, *Index generalis* in *Cartulaire de l’abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon II*, eds Georges Provost and Raymond Letertre (2 vols, Rennes, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 61–128. For the dating of the acts, see Hubert Guillotel, “Répertoire chronologique,” in *Cartulaire de l’abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon*, vol. 1, pp. 71–8.

20 This evolution is also attested in the ninth century for Pleucadeuc and Pluherlin.

21 Plumaugat, *plebs Maelcat*; Plélan, *plebs Lan*; Pléchâtel, *plebs Castel*; Ploërmel, *plebs Arthmael*; Pleucadeuc, *plebs Catoc ou Cadoc*; Pluherlin, *plebs Hoiernin*; Péaule, *plebs Gauele*; Plessé, *plebs Sei*.

22 Contra Tanguy, “La paroisse bretonne,” p. 21.

23 This is the boundary between the toponyms with -ac and -é suffixes; Joseph Loth, “Les langues romane et bretonne en Armorique,” *Revue Celtique*, 28 (1907): 374–403.

24 These different terms can however be equivalent. Laillé is referred to as either “centaine” and “viguerie,” Jean-Pierre Brunterc’h, “Les circonscriptions mineures du VIIIe aux Xe–XIe siècles (Ouest et Sud de la Neustrie, Bretagne),” in Atsma Hartmul

and Karl Ferdinand Werner (eds), *La Neustrie: les pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850, colloque historique international* (2 vols, Sigmaringen, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 82–127; Zadora-Rio, "Habitat et territoire," pp. 91–3.

25 On writing practices of the plebs, see Hubert Guillotel, "Le manuscrit," pp. 17–18.

26 On the other hand, *la charge machtiernale* is hereditary and can be applied to one or more *plebes*. Opinions differ greatly circa the origins of such functions: Davies, *Small Words*, pp. 138–42; Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne. Géographie historique et structures sociales de la Bretagne méridionale (Nantais et vannetais) de la fin du VIII^e^ à la fin du XII^e^ siècle* (Angers, 1994), pp. 233–45.

27 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville et al., vol. 1, act 49, p. 39; act 115, p. 88.

28 Ibid., act 190, p. 147: "Deinceps transmisit ipsa Roeiantdreh presbyterum suum nomine Roentuuoret … ad aecclesiam Motoriac, ut istam elemosinam manifestaret omnibus hominibus manentibus in plebe Motoriac quod ita et fecit, in die dominico … coram his omnibus qui audierunt." For three similar examples; ibid., act 49, p. 39; act 115, p. 88, and act 245, p. 196.

29 Ibid., act 140, p. 106: "… manifestavit supradictus Uuetenoc hanc donationem, die dominico, in aecclesia Rufiac, post missam, coram cunctis populis qui erant in aecclesia."

30 Ibid., appendix, act 3, p. 354: "Factum est hoc … in Rannac, ante ecclesiam qui dicitur Cunfol." The mention of chapels that depend on the church of Anast, as seen in the 847 act of donation to the Saint-Maur-de-Glanfeuil abbey by one Anouuareth, is an interpolation which likely dates to the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century. *Biblia Sancti Mauri Fossatensis seu Rorigonis comitis*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 3, fol. 408v.

31 Wendy Davies, "Priests and rural communities in East Brittany in the Ninth century," *Etudes Celtiques*, 20 (1983): 185–91.

32 On the late territorial definition of the diocese, see Mazel, *De la cité au diocèse*, and Mazel (ed.), *L'espace du diocèse*.

33 In the north of Italy, where *plebs* is referred to as "pieve," the term is also employed from the Carolingian epoch for the identification of estates, see Cinzio Violante, "Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campagne dell'Italia centrosettentrionale (secoli V–X)," in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espanzione e resistenze. Atti della Settimana di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo di Spoleto*, 28 (1981): 963–1162.

34 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville et al., vol. 1, act 302, p. 252 (inserted act); ibid., act 340, pp. 290–91.

35 "Le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Georges de Rennes," ed. Paul de La Bigne-Villeneuve, *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, 9 (1875): 236–8.

36 *Recueil des actes des ducs de Bretagne: dynastie des Comtes de Rennes (940–1066)*, ed. Hubert Guillotel (thèse dactylographiée, Paris, 1973), act 26, pp. 96–105.

37 *Livre Noir de Saint-Florent*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1930, fols 67v–68v; *Livre Blanc de Saint-Florent*, Archives Départementales du Maine-et-Loire, H3713, fols 72v–73v.

38 The term appears slightly less than 20 percent in eleventh-century acts (42 acts out of a total of 262) and slightly more than 10 percent in the twelfth century (87 out of 161). This does not take into consideration the cartulary of Redon. The usage of this term spread in the thirteenth century, when it appears in more than 30 percent of our documents (368 acts out of 1167).

39 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville et al., vol. 1, act

370, p. 323. The diffusion of the term *parochia* seems to be even later in the western region of Brittany. The cartulary of the abbey of Landévennec, composed in the middle of the eleventh century, ignores it, whereas that of the abbey of Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé does not make reference to it before the second half of the twelfth century as it employs *plebs. Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec; Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé Finistère, publié d'après l'original*, eds Léon Maître and Paul Berthou (Paris, 1896).

40 *Vie de saint Malo, évêque d'Alet, version écrite par le diacre Bili*, ed. Gwenaël le Duc (Saint-Malo, 1979).

41 Ibid., act 7, p. 7. On this old meaning of *parochia* see Lauwers, "Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire. Remarques sur *parochia* dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge," p. 25.

42 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville et al., vol. 1, act 274, p. 222.

43 Ibid., act 276, p. 223; act 279, p. 226; act 280, p. 226; act 314, p. 266.

44 Ibid., act 293, p. 242; act 344, p. 294; act 371, p. 324.

45 Ibid., act 314, p. 266; act 315, p. 268; act 318, p. 271.

46 The monks employ both terms in their acts; ibid., act 302, p. 252; appendix act 70, p. 392; act 72, p. 394 and act 74, p. 395.

47 Ibid., act 315, p. 268.

48 In proportion, *plebs* and *parochia* are employed less in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than in the Carolingian epoch, during which each piece of land was systematically localized within a *plebs*, a *condita*, or a *vicaria*, and, at a higher stage, within a *pagus*. It is from the thirteenth century that the word *parochia* becomes common usage for the localization of possessions, thus witnessing to the advent of a *style savant* in the documentation. On these transformations, see Dominique Barthélémy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 19–127.

49 *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville, et al., act 338, p. 288.

50 *Livre Noir de Saint-Florent*, fol. 61r; *Livre Blanc de Saint-Florent*, fol. 68r: "… de quadam ecclesia quae est sita in nostra parroechia et uulgo uocatur Liuriacus."

51 Florian Mazel and Armelle le Huërou, "Actes de l'abbaye de Marmoutier concernant le prieuré de la Trinité de Fougères, XI^e–XII^e siècles; édition et traduction," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 113/3 (2006): 148–54.

52 *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique de Bretagne*, ed. Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice (3 vols, Paris, 1742–46), vol. 1, col. 648; *Recueil des actes des ducs de Bretagne*, act 136, pp. 427–8.

53 Lauwers, "Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire"; Zadora-Rio, "Les lieux de culte," p. 29.

54 Mazel and Le Huërou, "Actes de l'abbaye de Marmoutier concernant le prieuré de la Trinité de Fougères, XI^e–XII^e siècles," act 7, pp. 161–5. Here the term could have been used in the plural form of the neutral; Lauwers, "Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire. Remarques sur *parochia* dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge," p. 25.

55 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Saveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville et al., vol. 1, act 294, p. 243. For the translation and analysis of this act, see Daniel Pichot, "La notice 294 du cartulaire de Redon; les moines, la réforme et la société," in Joëlle Quaghebeur and Sylvain Soleil (eds), *Le pouvoir et la foi au Moyen Âge en Bretagne et dans l'Europe de l'ouest. Mélanges en mémoire du professeur Hubert Guillotel* (Rennes, 2010), pp. 131–43.

56 *Recueil des actes des ducs de Bretagne*, act 19, pp. 74–7: "Quod monasterium de antecessoribus nostris idem vir [Guiddenoch] ita honorabiliter in beneficium tenere

visus est, ut nec comes nec ullus ex vicarriis ejusdem regionis nec alia prorsus aliqua persona praeter ipsum habere visa sit ullam dominationem in hominibus ipsius parrochiae distringendis, nec annonaticum, nec friscingaticum, nec fumaticum, nec vaccatium, nec ullam redhibitiones, nec vel ipsum bannum" ["It is established that this man has honorably this monastery in fief, from our ancestors (of the Duke Alain III), so that neither the Count nor any of the vicars of this region (Brittany), nor absolutely no other one, exercise any power over the men of this parish concerning the justice, neither about the right on annual crops, nor about the right on piglets, nor about the right on smoking meats, nor about the right on cows, nor any other right, nor seigniorial power"]. Guiddenoch's acquisition of such banal prerogatives shows that the possession of a church also implied the control of ecclesiastical/seigneurial rights (their division took place only under the influence of the Gregorian reformation). On the polarization of the juridical rights around worship places, see Zadora-Rio, "Habitat et territoire," p. 111.

57 *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon I*, eds Chédeville et al., vol. 1, act 315, p. 268: "… monasterium Sanctae Mariae, in plebe quę vocatur Fruszai" ["for the monastery of Sainte-Marie, in the plebs that is called Fruszai"]; ibid.: "De illis quos adduxerint de aliis parroechiis" ["about those who come from other *parochiae*"].

58 Prieuré de la Sainte-Trinité de Fougères, Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 6H16/I-IV no. 17.

59 *Livre Blanc de Saint-Florent*, fol. 76r: "Hujus ville jam supradicte, id est Mezwoit, incole … ad parochiam Sancte Marie de Carfenton pertinebant, et ei decimas et primitias suas et ceteras oblationes referebant."

60 The full text reads: "Le paroissien [de l'église Sainte-Marie et Saint-Pierre de Vitré] sera celui qui demeure dans cette paroisse." Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 1F1801/16 (sixteenth-century copy of an original): "Illum parrochianum dico qui in sua parrochia mansionarius erit."

Chapter 6
New Masters of Space: The Creation of Communication Networks in the West (Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries)

Thomas Wetzstein
Translated from the French by Raeleen Chai-Elsholz

At the height of its power in 1215, the medieval papacy, represented by one of the most energetic popes in its history, announced at the Fourth Lateran Council the 71 canons that were to govern the lives of the faithful and the Church.[1] In canon 50, Innocent III decreed that henceforward marriage would be forbidden only to the fifth degree of affinity instead of the seventh as before.[2] Two years later, this innovation was in force on an island very far from Rome: in 1217, it was added to a collection of the secular laws of Iceland in a compilation that has been known as the Grágás since the sixteenth century.[3] We do not know what route the canon *Non debet* took. Even if the prelates and abbots who attended the Fourth Lateran Council came from almost every corner of Latin Christendom, no known Icelandic bishop ever took part in this most universal assembly of the Latin Church, and we do not even know whether the Icelandic episcopacy figured among those summoned to the Council in 1213.[4] For the moment, suffice it to note that at the start of the thirteenth century even the most outlying places were accessible to influences that took shape within one of the most important nodes of communication in the West.

This becomes easier to fathom when it is viewed alongside other events and phenomena with universal reach, like participation in the Second Crusade (1145–49),[5] the schism of 1159 and how it was perceived, or even the echoes of the defeat of Jean sans Terre and Otto IV at Bouvines in 1214 in a great number of chronicles across Europe.[6] Such “wide area networks” were likewise at work between 1050 and 1200 in the dissemination of certain saints’ cults, like those

of James the Greater (Santiago) in Spain or Thomas Becket, to mention only the most obvious, or even, through the spread of feudalism, the practices of tithing and of anointing kings, a common culture of the nobility.[7]

Such "global" events along with a general trend towards uniformity suggest that between the eleventh and twelfth centuries the structure of exchanges in the West underwent profound mutations that presuppose the existence of sustainable communications relationships. As is true of the sixteenth century, about which Fernand Braudel observed that "most cultural transfers took place without us knowing who the haulers were … for every piece of baggage found, a thousand have escaped us," attempts would be unfruitful to identify the individuals responsible for this cultural homogenization which progressively encompassed areas farther and farther from each other.[8] It does seem fruitful, nevertheless, to try to reconstruct the genesis of a space characterized by the establishment of communications networks during these two centuries that marked a decisive turning point in the history of the medieval West. The following considerations seek to outline this remarkable and far-reaching process by focusing on three central questions: who maintained these networks, why were they formed, and how did they operate?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it is worthwhile to consider these communications networks as historical phenomena by defining the terms and concepts used in the discussion, as well as by setting forth some methodological points starting with the term "networks," which deserves some explanation. In the context under study here, two characteristics of these networks should be emphasized. First, networks are at the origin of many exchange mechanisms, whether the objects involved are material or immaterial. Several examples of this will be provided. Secondly, in some cases, networks that were originally personal can become "transpersonal," developing an institutional character and thereby contributing to institutionalizing communications.

Exchanges in institutional form, moreover, can be defined according to three criteria: 1) stability, phenomena with a certain temporal scope will therefore be discussed; 2) normativity, there are either unstated rules or explicit standards which facilitate and necessitate regular exchanges; 3) "transpersonality" or "supra-individuality," exchange relationships are maintained and guaranteed by supra-individual organisms rather than by individuals.[9]

Along with "networks," a second element of this chapter's title requires attention and some explanation: what does "communications" mean when speaking of the eleventh and twelfth centuries? First of all, it must be emphasized that because of the influence of information

and communication technologies, the aspect of space has completely disappeared from the concept of communication in some European languages like German, where it is understood exclusively as an exchange of information. One of the most popular paradigms among historians was formulated in 1949 by the mathematician Claude Elwood Shannon and completed later on by Warren Weaver without changing its essential traits.[10] It is important to bear in mind that this model was conceived for quite a specific application, that is, telecommunications, a flourishing technology in the postwar United States. Given its immediate context, it is obvious that this model is of rather limited value when applied to the Middle Ages. The reason for this is simple: space, which according to Fernand Braudel was still the "enemy number one" in the sixteenth century, no longer plays a part in it.[11] This is not surprising, considering that the purpose of the model was to serve technology explicitly designed to do away with space as an obstacle to communications. The existence of a channel that transmits information is understood even if "noise" of all kinds may disrupt it. Likewise, the famous quote by Lasswell in 1948, "who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?" to describe the essence of mass communications similarly presupposes the existence of a channel. The idea of "the impossibility of not communicating" as Paul Watzlawick put it, is paradoxical, to say the least, in an age where space distanced people inexorably.[12]

In reality, letter writers in the Middle Ages ceaselessly deplored their remoteness from each other, and geographical distance was exacerbated by various natural obstacles. It is therefore evident that for the Middle Ages, any definition of communication that makes abstraction of the spatial dimension is senseless, all the more so as long-distance communication is at the heart of our considerations. Theoreticians have coined the term "secondary communication" to designate this type of communication.[13] It is defined by its indirect character and, consequently, by its dependence on media that are able to cross-space, like letters, for example. For medieval historians one advantage of secondary communication, which for medieval people had primarily a spatial dimension, is that it leaves traces. Depending on the media used, writing in the first instance, secondary communication extends across time so that it can be accessible to us still, while direct or "primary" communication, performed orally, is no longer accessible in most cases.

One essential characteristic of secondary communication will prove to be even more important later on. In contrast to nowadays, for the greater part of the history of humankind remote communication, like any and indeed all processes of exchange, was inextricably tied to people's mobility.[14] Remote communication and mobility were thus

two sides of the same coin. Space, the ways of crossing it, and the cost of mobility are therefore the framework within which this analysis will be conducted.

Taking these methodological considerations into account, I will first concentrate on the ecclesiastical world. The sources alone do not dictate this choice, even if it is clear that ecclesiastical elites had a quasi-monopoly on writing. The significance of this milieu can be inferred from the definition provided above for secondary communication, which is dependent on media like writing.[15] To what degree did the clergy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy use it? The networks in question require a certain level of institutional organization; in what measure did their standardization aim to make them the new masters of space? And how did these norms become characteristic of Western ecclesiastical milieus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries?

The Popes

It seems entirely justified to begin this analysis with the papacy or rather—to avoid inopportune anachronism—with the popes. The difference between the institution and its individuals, the bishops of Rome, was felt most significantly at a time when the See of Saint Peter became an organism with a chancery, cardinals, the apostolic chamber, and the first courts. The pontificate of Urban II (1088–99) is where the term "curia," designating this group of offices, is encountered in the sources for the first time.[16]

This fundamental restructuring was closely linked to the popes' views on Christendom that materialized in a veritable transformation of the *urbs* into *orbis*.[17] With Leo IX (1049–54) began a series of traveling popes. Even if some of his successors remained in Rome, it is obvious that papal journeys heightened awareness of the universal status of popes, which in theory had been true for centuries.[18] It was therefore not merely a whim on the part of Leo IX to institute the symbol of the rota to express the pope's responsibility for the *orbis*. The rota was affixed to papal privileges starting in his pontificate.[19]

The program of this universal episcopacy is known to us mainly through the famous register of Gregory VII, with his *Dictatus papae* declaring in Proposition Two that the Roman pontiff alone has the right to be called *universalis*.[20] While we do not yet know the exact function of the 27 propositions, the hundreds of letters addressed not only to members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy but also to the princes of all the kingdoms known at the time, take pains to express the universal nature of the pope's duties.[21] The day after he was elevated

to the papacy, Gregory VII explained to the Christians of Lombardy that his mission extended to all Christians and even beyond.[22]

His ambitious project was not mere posturing: under the pontificate of Gregory VII a whole range of instruments was deployed to gain mastery over space and transform the Papal See into the focal point of the West.[23] Gregory went further than sending letters and mandating legates to impose on Latin Christendom as a whole his conception of a life pleasing to God. Through his synods, by requiring metropolitans to receive the pallium from the pope's hands personally, and by demanding of his bishops a regular *visitatio liminum*, the pope enforced his central position within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Gregory's successors added little. They summoned still more bishops to a new type of council that would gradually become a forum for the universal Church, and the jurisdictionalization that was an increasingly pronounced characteristic of the Church filled the roads leading to the pope with even more ecclesiastics and laypeople seeking justice from the *iudex supremus*.[24]

It would not be difficult to provide greater detail by taking a closer look at the dialectic between the areas the popes were in contact with and the internationalization of the papal curia itself. For example, with the decree of 1059, the increasingly international curia started to oust the Roman clergy from the election of the pope, and toward 1125 it definitively abandoned curial script in favor of the minuscule used everywhere else in Latin Europe.[25] In the interest of brevity, however, a selection must be made of what to focus on to exemplify how the papacy contributed to establishing the networks that institutionalized communications between the pope and the *regiones*. Papal legation is one subject that pertinently illustrates the papacy's singularity in this matter. Because this is a vast theme, I will concentrate on two aspects that most convincingly account for the importance of the legates in pontifical politics of space as well as in the history of communications.[26]

During the pontificate of Paschal II, Ivo, bishop of Chartres, wrote a letter to the pope. The celebrated canonist complained to him about an increasingly frequent papal practice: in the twelfth century, instead of mandating local prelates to enforce discipline, popes started sending cardinals from the curia to various regions of Christendom which, in theory, had become their diocese. Ivo of Chartres asked the pope to revert to prior established usage by calling upon transalpine prelates like archbishop Hugh of Lyons because the atmosphere in the French episcopacy was turning against the pope and his cardinals.[27]

Ivo's letter thus points to one of the most important factors of the extra-ordinary potential of the popes, whether in person or via their representatives, to literally make contact with the world. It seemed to

Ivo and his colleagues that the legates were growing wealthy from their travel in France. The author was alluding to the canonical procuration, which is an obligation of the faithful throughout Christendom. They must provide appropriate maintenance for bishops visiting their dioceses, as well as for the pope and his legates during their journeys. In the case of the pope or a legate, who were always accompanied by a considerable retinue, reactions from the bishops and abbots who hosted them were always the same: they protested. Even a pious Cistercian like Eugenius III (1145–53) came under criticism when traveling in France.[28] It appears that in 1147, the pope ordered his legate to collect the *servitium procurationis* throughout the diocese of Liège to finance his voyage. The celebrated abbot Wibald of Stavelot, who was on good terms with Eugenius III, paid more than he owed for his monastery. The reactions of the other faithful as reported by Wibald indicate that the simple transfer of the right of procuration from the visiting bishop to the pope was an innovation that was still not generally accepted in the mid-twelfth century. A decade later, the canons of Saint-Omer had a privilege that they held from Calixtus II (1119–24) confirmed by Adrian IV (1154–59). It is not unlikely that the experience of Eugenius III's journey incited the canons to include a new item in the document: henceforward the charter was to contain detailed rules for dividing up procuration expenses between the provost and the canons for hosting the stay of a pope, a cardinal, a legate, or an archbishop.[29] The generalization of complaints about the procurations due to legates, particularly from the second half of the twelfth century onward, along with the multiplication of privileges of exemption from this burden, seem to indicate that at this time it had become common practice for cardinal legates to embark on missions and to be provided for during their travels to almost every part of the world within the purview of the Roman Church. The scale of this institution can be illustrated in numbers: according to Claudia Zey's estimates, between 1049 and 1198 no less than 480 prelates were mandated as legates; of these, 360 were cardinal legates.[30]

Nevertheless, the importance of the legates was not limited to their freedom to travel. Through them the pope had theoretically boundless possibilities for asserting his authority. Shortly after the middle of the eleventh century, in 1063, Alexander II (1061–73) introduced into legation mandates a formula that would prove to be essential for legates' activities throughout the *orbis latinus*. Having sent Cardinal Peter Damian to the north of France, the pope explained to the bishops there in his mandate that because of his universal responsibilities, it was impossible for him to visit them personally, and that therefore he was sending a representative. What follows at the end of the passage in question is no less than a decisive innovation for

the entire history of diplomacy in the West: he authorized the legate to act in his name and promised to be bound by the measures taken by his legate in the same way as if he had taken them personally.[31] Henceforward, because of this ratification clause, it was possible for legates to make final, wide-reaching decisions without prior consultation with the pope and without ulterior ratification. By comparison, it appears that in the diplomatic practices of secular monarchs, this specific mode of proxy mandate that greatly facilitated the engagement of ambassadors even in faraway places was not implemented before the second half of the twelfth century.[32]

This does not mean that the legates acted on their own for years far away from the pope without him being aware of what they were doing. Already Gregory VII had compelled legates to inform the pope of their actions regularly in writing. It is unfortunate that these intense exchanges of letters between the popes and their legates have been lost, apart from some rare exceptions. Sometimes legates' reports were even preserved in the pope's registers. In 1986 Raffaelo Volpini published an edition of the original of such a report from 1118.[33] These reports flesh out the image of the papal curia as the institution, which from the twelfth century on, amassed the densest concentration of information in all Christendom.[34]

To briefly summarize this analysis of the leading creator of communications networks, one might say that ever since the ideals of reform had taken hold in their thinking, the popes of the eleventh to twelfth centuries set themselves the task of becoming the masters of a space that challenged them endlessly. To achieve their goals, they traveled personally, called councils that were mandatory for the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy, and employed legates who benefited from the right of procuration and could operate efficiently far from the curia thanks to the clause of ratification. It goes without saying that extensive use of writing, the primary instrument for effecting communication at a distance, contributed greatly to facilitating, or, rather, made possible the popes' performance of their duties as universal bishop.[35]

In addition to the papacy, another institution contributed to the creation of new communications networks: religious orders. I will limit my remarks to one main example among them, a pioneer in the history of orders in general as well as a frontrunner in the history of communications in the period under study: the Cistercians.[36] Although it is true that already the congregation of Cluny had taken remarkable steps toward creating networks of monasteries already, the order of Cîteaux achieved this to an unprecedented degree.[37]

The Cistercians

It is not only for their quasi-miraculous expansion that the White Monks deserve our attention as a singularly instructive case study for the history of communications, but also and above all for their requirement of absolute uniformity and the founding of the order that was designed to guarantee it. The *Carta caritatis* of 1119 decreed: “uno modo ab omnibus intelligatur regula et teneatur” [“the rule be understood and held by all in the same manner”].[38] From Ireland to Sicily, from Spain to the Holy Land, this standard prescribed obedience to the rule identically for all of its monks. The only way to fulfill this obligation was, already in the twelfth century, to keep channels of exchange open on a continual basis. Each year, therefore, the abbots were called to Cîteaux on 14 September for the General Chapter, which also became the order’s court and alone was competent to legislate.[39]

I shall pass over the practical problems the mother house faced because of the inflow of abbots who were usually accompanied by their retinues, to pause briefly on the excuses and punishments for absences which are well attested in the minutes of General Chapters.[40] These report the difficulties, particularly in faraway abbeys, that resulted from the strict obligation for abbots to participate in the General Chapter. This meant the abbot had to be away for several months at a time and involved considerable expense, especially for those who could not rely on the hospitality of an uninterrupted chain of Cistercian abbeys for lodgings. For the entire twelfth century, we remain sadly uninformed of the exchanges that must have taken place within the General Chapters and of the consequences this extraordinary institution had on the environment of the abbeys that were as many islands of universality in a fragmented world.[41]

The publication in 1965 of a collection of letters edited by Sheila Heathcote fills some of the lacunae in our knowledge of the nature of another pillar of the Cistercian communications system: the filiations that tied Cistercian houses together across the space of Christendom.[42] These networks of foundations sprang from the four principle houses as well as from the abbey of Cîteaux itself.[43] After the order was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, the abbots of the mother houses were required to visit each of the offshoot abbeys and deposit a report of their visitation with the monastery in question. The letters published by Heathcote show that even apart from visitations, filiations were the bloodlines of the Cistercian organism. Via the filiation of mother and daughter foundations circulated people and books, information and disciplinary directives. In sum, these were well-tended, solid chains of communication. While the communication

functions of these filiations remain hypothetical for the most part, we are better informed about the circulation of books, most especially liturgical books which had to be identical for the entire order. When, for example, the mother house of Pontigny founded a monastery in Hungary in around 1179, seven or eight liturgical manuscripts from Pontigny made the 1,500-kilometer journey.[44] The specific way in which words are separated in each manuscript, in addition to very characteristic punctuation identified by Paul Saenger, makes it possible to trace Cistercian manuscripts of the twelfth century along the lines of their filiations.[45]

For the history of communications, the General Chapter of the Cistercians is a remarkable phenomenon. In this assembly of all of its abbots, the order reached the very limits of what conditions at the time imposed on mobility, as the problems evidenced in the organization of General Chapters indicate. This holds true of filiation as well, where as early as the twelfth century, delegations and other exceptions had to be implemented because of the distances involved.

For the Cistercians, therefore, mastery of space was part and parcel of the program upon which the very identity of their order rested. Because the order extended over such vast distances, its victory over space was only partial. The means employed by the Cistercians, the General Chapter and filiations, nevertheless demonstrate that the twelfth-century West was on its way to becoming a society that would depend increasingly on communications and mobility.

Scholars

Apart from the papacy and the Cistercians, sources point to another social group that maintained long-distance communications networks: those who had studied in the schools of France and Italy, precursors of medieval universities. At the time, the mobilization of cultured elites was without equal.

Once again, it was Gregory VII who took the decisive measures. At a synod in 1078, he commanded the foundation of cathedral schools. In a constitution of the Second Lateran Council (1139), Innocent II then emphasized the importance of education and rejected hereditary episcopal dignities. Frederick Barbarossa, in his well-known *Authentica habita* of 1155 granted privileges to scholars who had left their countries *pro amore scientie*. Shortly after that, members of the clergy earned the right to receive benefices at the place where they were studying, and such funding also facilitated their mobility.[46]

Nevertheless, mobility alone did not give rise to new networks of communication any more than it caused the strikingly homogeneous

nature of this new elite. Rather, it was maintained by what bound former students together despite distances: the cult of friendship. These ties favored the establishment of links between alumni and bonded them for years, if not for entire lifetimes. Friendship was, moreover, an idea that was similarly cultivated within monastic milieus.[47]

These ties were lasting and very often not entirely disinterested. They emerge clearly from dozens of letter collections from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. John of Salisbury provides us with a rich example when, between 1166 and 1167, he describes in a letter to a former fellow student the consequences of the few years they had spent together at the same institution. The recipient, Abbot Adam of Evesham, was in England at the time, while John was exiled in Reims during the controversy between Henry II of England and Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.[48] The affection sustained by their exchanges during their studies and thereafter was strengthened when the two friends, although separated by their obligations, continued to observe the same customs and familiarity, even on the rare occasion of visits. The privileged medium for doing homage to the cult of friendship was letters, which is how it is possible for us to be so well informed of contacts between former students.[49]

While it is often difficult to measure the social dimension of networks that, according to letter collections, are founded on expressions of friendship, there are nevertheless a number of cases which point to the pragmatic importance of the bonds of *amicitia* that former pupils maintained with each other in epistolary relationships.[50] This is very clear where the correspondents tirelessly ask favors of each other, but there are also examples where networks were activated to political and religious ends. One early and very well-documented example has come down to us in the records of the eucharistic controversy sparked by Berengar of Tours in 1050 and which came to a conclusion with the synod of Lent in 1079.[51] Ian Stuart Robinson has also demonstrated it for the period of the Investiture Controversy, and Timothy Reuter has taken stock of the part played by these networks during the schism of 1130. Anne Duggan and Julian Haseldine have done likewise for the confrontation between Thomas Becket and Henry II.[52] Thus, the networks that rose up around intellectuals were promoted by the mobilization of cultural elites and sustained by the concept of *amicitia* along with the use of writing. However, it is not possible to speak of an actual program whose aim was to gain control over space, as was the case with the papacy and the Cistercians.

* * *

In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, communications networks were formed, encompassing increasingly extensive reaches of Latin Europe. The outcome of this process was a wide space of communication which made possible numerous cultural transfers and trends toward uniformity. Fernand Braudel has stated that it is impossible to identify the builders of this space of communication.[53] Nevertheless I have tried to provide some indications by designating the ideas, instruments, and institutions that began to create new communications networks towards the middle of the eleventh century. Among those responsible for weaving this web, the popes, the Cistercians, and scholars deserve mention as the most significant. Each of the three categories had its reasons for attempting to gain control over space. The means they used were not all the same, even if writing did play a preponderant part. For ease of presentation the three spheres have been analyzed separately, but of course it must be borne in mind that in the period under study they overlapped, combined with each other, and compounded their effects. Eugenius III, for instance, was a Cistercian who rose to the throne of St Peter; Alexander III, for his part, led the life of a scholar and teacher before becoming pope. After the canonization of Thomas Becket in 1173, the Cistercians were among the most important propagators of his cult. Further examples can easily be found and examination made of the role of specific networks, but the purpose here was to present the three players who, through their creation of communications networks, aimed to become the new masters of space.

1 On this council, see Raymonde Foreville, *Les conciles de Latran I, II, III et Latran IV*, Histoire des conciles oecumeniques, 6 (Paris, 1965), pp. 265–379. A contemporary report has been edited by Stephan Kuttner and Antonio García y García, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio*, 20 (1964): 115–78, reprinted in Stephan Kuttner, *Medieval Councils, Decretals, and Collections of Canon Law: Selected Essays* (London, 1992) no. IX, as well as in Antonio García y García, *Iglesia, Sociedad y Derecho* (Salamanca, 1987), vol. 2, pp. 61–121.

2 Lat IV, c. 50: *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum*, ed. Antonio García y García (Città del Vaticano, 1981), pp. 90–91.

3 *Laws of Early Iceland. Grágás. I. The Codex Regius of Grágás with Material from Other Manuscripts*, ed. Andrew Dennis (Winnipeg, 1980), pp. 50–51. Later information on Grágás collections can be found in Hans Peter Naumann, s.v. "Gragas" in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (35 vols, Berlin, 1972–2008), vol. 12 (1998), pp. 569–73.

4 A list of participants has been compiled by Foreville, *Les conciles de Latran I, II, III et Latran IV*, pp. 391–5, and Georgine Tangl, *Die Teilnehmer an den allgemeinen Konzilien des Mittelalters* (Weimar, 1932), pp. 219–32; see the map in Angus MacKay and David Ditchburn, *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (London, 1997), p. 120. The letter of summons of 1213, "Vineam Domini," is the core of an analysis by Georgine Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III* (Weimar, 1929), with an edition of the bull at pp. 84–8. An undoubtedly incomplete list can be found in Johannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (31 vols, Paris, 1901–27), vol. 22 (1903), cols 962–5: *Ab anno 1166–1225*, where the archbishops of Lund and Uppsala are recorded, while no mention is made of Icelandic prelates or the archbishop of Nidaros, metropolitan of Iceland.

5 Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. Zehnte, überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage* (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 120–34, and the references cited further on.

6 On the 1159 schism, see Timothy Reuter, *The Papal Schism, the Empire and the West, 1159–1169* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford, 1976); on Bouvines, see Georges Duby, *Le dimanche de Bouvines* (Paris, 1985 [1973]), p. 240–49, and fig. 1. Ninety-two chroniclers mention the event, only a third of whom were located in the kingdom of France at the time. English and German chronicles report the defeat, but Italian authors rarely mention it, while Scandinavian, Jurassian, and Provençal historiography are silent about it.

7 On the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the reference is still Luis Vázquez de Parga, José M. Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, (3 vols, Madrid, 1948–49); for a very brief overview, Klaus Herbers, s.v. "Santiago de Compostela. IV: Pilgerfahrt," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (9 vols, Munich, 1977–99), vol. 7 (1995), cols 1372–3; on the cult of Thomas Becket, see Medard Barth, "Zum Kult des hl. Thomas Becket im deutschen Sprachgebiet, in Skandinavien und Italien," *Freiburger Diözesanarchiv*, 80 (1960): 97–166; Raymonde Foreville, "La diffusion du culte de Thomas Becket dans la France de l'Ouest avant la fin du XII^{e} siècle," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 19 (1976): 347–69; Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket. Friends, Networks, Texts and Cult* (Aldershot, 2007); Milagros Guàrdia, "Sant Tomàs Becket i el programa iconogràfic de les pintures murals de Santa Maria de Terrassa," *Locus amoenus*, 4 (1998): 37–58. On noble culture, see the description in Michael Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt. 1050–1250* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 221–336.

8 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1990 [1949]), p. 488. "La plupart des transferts culturels s'accomplissent sans que l'on connaisse les camionneurs … Pour un bagage reconnu, mille nous échappent."

9 Gert Melville, “Institutionen als geschichtswissenschaftliches Thema,” in Gert Melville (ed.), *Institutionen und Geschichte. Theoretische Aspekte und mittelalterliche Befunde* (Köln-Wien, 1992), pp. 1–24.

10 Hadumod Bußmann, *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft*, Kröner Taschenausgabe, 452 (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 392–3. For its use in the historiography of the Middle Ages, see Marco Mostert, “New approaches to medieval communication?” in Marco Mostert (ed.), *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 15–37, especially pp. 18–19; also Ulrich Müller, “Medien der Kommunikation–Materielle Kultur zwischen Sender und Empfänger,” in Karl-Heinz Spieß (ed.), *Medien der Kommunikation im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2003) pp. 105–37, especially pp. 115–18.

11 Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, p. 9. His chapter starts out as follows: “Aujourd’hui, l’espace nous manque, il se rétrécit autour de nous. Au XVI^{e} siècle, il surabonde et cette richesse est à la fois avantage et obstacle” [“Today, we lack space; it is shrinking around us. In the sixteenth century, it was overabundant, and this richness was both an advantage and an obstacle”].

12 See the references in Achim Landwehr and Stefanie Stockhorst, *Einführung in die europäische Kulturgeschichte* (Paderborn, 2004), pp. 125–9.

13 Otto B. Roegele, s.v. “Kommunikation. I. Kommunikationswissenschaftlich,” in *Staatslexikon: Recht, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*, 3 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987), cols 582–3.

14 A few rare examples of animals as a means of communications are mentioned by Stephan Freund, “Boten und Briefe. Formen und Wege bayerisch-italienischer Kommunikation im Früh- und Hochmittelalter,” in Heinz Dopsch, Stephan Freund, Alois Schmid (eds), *Bayern und Italien. Politik, Kultur, Kommunikation (8–15 Jahrhundert). Festschrift für Kurt Reindel zum 75. Geburtstag* (München, 2001), pp. 55–103, especially pp. 92–100.

15 Although it is true with respect to secular power that attempts to dominate space intensified starting in the eleventh century, the efforts of kings and princes to bring their territories under control were limited to their own lands and therefore must be excluded from this study which focuses on the formation of communications networks across political frontiers. The issue of the spatial dimension of secular power has not yet been the object of systematic study; for the time being, see Joseph R. Strayer, *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton, 1971); Hanna Vollrath, “Geographischer Raum—politischer Raum—historischer Raum,” in Winfried Eberhard (ed.), *Westmitteleuropa—Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (München, 1992), pp. 71–8; Werner Maleczek (ed.), *Fragen der politischen Integration im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Ostfildern, 2005).

16 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, s.v. “Curie (XI^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle),” in Philippe Levillain (ed.), *Dictionnaire Historique de la Papauté* (Paris, 1994), pp. 505–11; on the history of the popes of this period, see in particular Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198* (Cambridge, 1990).

17 Thomas Wetzstein, “Wie die *urbs* zum *orbis* wurde. Der Beitrag des Papsttums zur Entstehung neuer Kommunikationsräume im europäischen Hochmittelalter,” in Jochen Johrendt and Harald Müller (eds), *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III* (Berlin and New York, 2008), pp. 47–75.

18 Jochen Johrendt, “Die Reisen der frühen Reformpäpste—ihre Ursachen und Funktionen,” *Römische Quartalschrift*, 96 (2001); 57–94, and Aryeh Graboïs, “Les séjours des papes en France au XII^{e} siècle et leurs rapports avec le développement de la fiscalité pontificale,” *Revue d’Histoire de l’Eglise de France*, 49 (1963): 5–18;

reprinted in *Civilisation et société dans l'Occident médiéval* (London, 1983), no. 2. See also Georges Bischoff and Benoît-Michel Tock (eds), *Léon IX et son temps. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg—Eguisheim, 20–22 juin 2002* (Turnhout, 2007).

19 Joachim Dahlhaus, "Aufkommen und Bedeutung der Rota in den Urkunden des Papstes Leo IX," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 27 (1989): 7–84.

20 Gregory VII, ep. II, 55a, in *Das Register Gregors VII.*, ed. Erich Caspar, MGH, Epistolae Selectae (2 vols, Berlin, 1967 [1920]), vol. 1, p. 202.

21 An analysis of a fictitious list of recipients of his letters was made by Rudolf Schieffer, "Gregor VII. und die Könige Europas," *Studi Gregoriani*, 13 (1989): 189–211. For an assessment of the register, see Hartmut Hoffmann, "Zum Register und zu den Briefen Papst Gregors VII," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 32 (1976): 86–130.

22 Gregory VII, ep. I, 15, in *Das Register Gregors VII.*, vol. 1, p. 23.

23 For a study of his pontificate as a whole, see Uta Renate Blumenthal, *Gregor VII. Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform* (Darmstadt, 2001).

24 On the councils, see Thomas Wetzstein, "Zur kommunikationsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Kirchenversammlungen des hohen Mittelalters," in Gisela Drossbach and Hans-Joachim Schmidt (eds), *Zentrum und Netzwerk. Kirchliche Kommunikationen und Raumstrukturen im Mittelalter* (Berlin and New York, 2008), pp. 247–97; on the jurisdictionalization of the Church see Jürgen Miethke, "Geschichtsprozeß und zeitgenössisches Bewußtsein—die Theorie des monarchischen Papats im hohen und späten Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 226 (1978): 564–99.

25 Walter Ullmann, "Zum Papstwahldekret von 1059," *Zeitschrift der Savigny—Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*, 68 (1982): 32–51; Paulus Rabikauskas, *Diplomatica pontificia. Praelectionum lineamenta. Editio quinta emendata et aucta* (Rome, 1994), p. 40. See also Uta Renate Blumenthal, "Rom in der Kanonistik," in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmugge (eds), *Rom im hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. Reinhard Elze zur Vollendung seines siebzigsten Lebensjahres gewidmet* (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 29–39; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Bedeutung Roms im päpstlichen Zeremoniell," in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter*, pp. 47–61; Michele Maccarrone, "Ubi est papa, ibi est Roma," in Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag und fünzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 371–82, reprinted in Michele Maccaronne, *Romana ecclesia, cathedra Petri*, eds Hubert Mordek, Piero Zerbi, Raffaelo Volpini, and Alessandro Galuzzi (2 vols, Rome, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 1137–56.

26 While awaiting publication of the thesis by Claudia Zey, "Die päpstliche Legatenpolitik im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert," (Habilitationsschrift, Munich, 2002), see the following for the history of the papal legates: Robinson, *The Papacy*, pp. 146–78; Stefan Weiß, *Die Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten von Leo IX. bis Coelestin III. (1049–1198)* (Köln, 1995); Claudia Zey, "Die Augen des Papstes. Zu Eigenschaften und Vollmachten päpstlicher Legaten," *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie*, pp. 77–108.

27 Ivo Carnotensis, ep. 109, in PL 162 (Paris, 1854), cols 127D–128A.

28 Wibald of Stavelot, *Das Briefbuch Abt Wibalds von Stablo und Corvey*, ed. Martina Hartmann, MGH, Epp. 2 (Hannover, 2012), ep. 37, p. 63, where the abbot of Stavelot mentions the discontent among ecclesiastical institutions caused by their obligation to finance the traveling pope and his retenue.

29 *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge, 3: Artois*, ed. Johannes Ramackers (Göttingen, 1940), p. 99, no. 45, for this text, see also Ludwig Falkenstein,

"Leistungsersuchen Alexanders III. aus dem ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikates," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 102 (1991): 62.

30 Claudia Zey, "Handlungsspielräume—Handlungsinitiativen. Aspekte der päpstlichen Legatenpolitik im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Zentrum und Netzwerk*, p. 65, n. 10.

31 Alexander II, ep. 15, in PL 146 (Paris, 1853), cols 1495A–B (JL 4516).

32 Donald Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967), pp. 25–59; Emily Sohmer Tai, s.v. "Ambassadors," in John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (eds), *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages. An Encyclopedia* (New York and London, 2000), pp. 19–20; Robert C. Figueira, *The Canon Law of Papal Legation* (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1980), pp. 121–253.

33 Raffaelo Volpini, "Documenti nel 'sancta sanctorum' del Laterano. I resti del 'archivio' di Gelasio II," *Lateranum*, 52 (1986): 215–64 (with the edition of the report on pp. 259–61).

34 Rudolf Schieffer, "Die päpstliche Kurie als internationaler Treffpunkt des Mittelalters," in Claudia Zey and Claudia Märtl (eds), *Aus der Frühzeit europäischer Diplomatie. Zum geistlichen und weltlichen Gesandtschaftswesen vom 12. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Zürich, 2008), pp. 23–39; Werner Maleczek, "Der Mittelpunkt Europas im frühen 13. Jahrhundert. Chronisten, Fürsten und Bischöfe an der Kurie zur Zeit Papst Innozenz' III," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 49 (2007): 89–157.

35 For the papacy there is no systematic study of the role of writing. Some introductory material, confined to normative texts, has been presented by Rudolf Schieffer, "Rechtstexte des Reformpapsttums und ihre zeitgenössische Resonanz," in Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Überlieferung und Geltung normativer Texte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen, 1986), pp. 51–69; Rudolf Schieffer, "'Redeamus ad fontem,' Rom als Hort authentischer Überlieferung im frühen Mittelalter," in *Roma —Caput et Fons. Zwei Vorträge über das päpstliche Rom zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Hrsg. v. d. gemeinsamen Kommission der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Gerda Henkel Stiftung*, Gerda Henkel Vorlesung (Opladen, 1989), pp. 45–70.

36 Because of the intensity of research on the order of Cîteaux, it is necessary to limit the bibliography to general studies like Marcel Pacaut, *Les moines blancs. Histoire de l'ordre de Cîteaux* (Paris, 1993); David H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages. Written to Commemorate the Nine Hundredth Anniversary of Foundation of the Order at Cîteaux in 1098* (Leominster, 1998). We owe a major reassessment of the White Monks within the history of religious orders in general to Bede K. Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux* (Washington, DC, 1972).

37 For the congregation of Cluny, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam 1000–1150* (Paris, 1998); Joachim Wollasch, *Cluny—'Licht der Welt.' Aufstieg und Niedergang der klösterlichen Gemeinschaft* (Zürich-Düsseldorf, 1996); on aspects of cohesion: Dietrich Poeck, *Cluniacensis ecclesia. Der cluniacensische Klosterverband* (10.–12. Jahrhundert) (München, 1998); Franz Neiske, "Zwischen 'pusillus grex' und 'ordo cluniacensis,' Umbruch und Kontinuität im cluniacensischen Klosterverband," in Jörg Jarnut and Matthias Wemhof (eds), *Vom Umbruch zur Erneuerung? Das 11. und beginnende 12. Jahrhundert—Positionen der Forschung* (München, 2006), pp. 247–73.

38 *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux. Sources, textes et notes historiques*, eds Jean De la Croix Bouton and Jean-Baptiste Van Damme, Cîteaux—Commentarii Cistercienses (Achel, 1985), p. 92.

39 For a comparative analysis of the General Chapter, see Florent Cygler, *Das Generalkapitel im hohen Mittelalter. Cisterzienser, Prämonstratenser, Kartäuser und*

Cluniazenser (Münster, 2002), especially pp. 23–119 for the Cistercian order.

40 *Twelfth-century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter. Latin Text with English Notes and Commentary*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux, 2002), which supersedes *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786, 1: Ab anno 1116 ad annum 1220*, ed. Josephus Canivez (Louvain, 1933). A first analysis of the General Chapter, based essentially upon minutes from General Chapters (which are very sketchy until the final decades of the twelfth century), is provided by Gregor Müller, "Studien über das Generalkapitel," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 12 (1900): 116–20, 152–5, 179–85, 209–16, 242–50, 278–85, 303–8, 335–41, 362–8; 13 (1901): 25–8, 49–58, 84–9, 119–25, 148–53, 179–83, 209–14, 241–5, 278–83, 301–6, 342–4, 365–9; 14 (1902): 22–7, 84–9, 121–5, 308–13; 15 (1903): 50–52, 80–84, 120–24, 152–5, 214–18, 306–11, 354–8; 16 (1904): 51–6, 81–5, 335–40; 17 (1905): 274–80, 329–33, 366–71; 18 (1906): 54–8, 149–57, 176–83, 272–8; 19 (1907): 19–27, 48–57, 82–91, 113–19, 141–8, 174–80, 217–21, 306–13, 335–9, 361–8; 20 (1908): 20–24, 50–58, 77–2, 106–11, 180–86, 240–47, 273–8, 301–11, 336–42, 363–6.

41 For the thirteenth century, Brian McGuire emphasizes the importance of Cistercian General Chapters for the exchange of information: Brian Patrick McGuire, "Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's 'Dialogus miraculorum'," *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 36 (1980): 166–247 (especially pp. 224–5). Joachim Ehlers, *Geschichte Frankreichs im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1987), p. 115, looks at "die große Nachrichtenbörse der Generalkapitel" as a system of communications.

42 Sheila J. Heathcote, "The letter collections attributed to Master Transmundus, papal notary and monk of Clairvaux in the late twelfth century," *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 21 (1965): 35–109, 167–238.

43 On the general practice of visitation, see Jörg Oberste, *Visitation und Ordensorganisation. Formen sozialer Normierung, Kontrolle und Kommunikation bei Cisterziensern, Prämonstratensern und Cluniazensern* (12.– frühes 14. Jahrhundert) (Münster, 1996), especially pp. 68–111 (unfortunately with only sparse information on the twelfth century).

44 François Dolbeau, "Quelques aspects des relations entre bibliothèques d'établissements religieux (XII^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)," in *Naissance et fonctionnement des réseaux monastiques et canoniaux. Actes du Premier Colloque International du CERCOM. Saint-Étienne, 16–18 septembre 1985* (Saint-Étienne, 1991), pp. 495–509 (especially pp. 502–3); Thomas Falmagne, "Le réseau des bibliothèques cisterciennes aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles. Perspectives de recherche," in *Unanimité et diversité cisterciennes. Filiations, réseaux, relectures du XII^{e} au XVII^{e} siècle. Actes du 4^{e} colloque international du CERCOR, Dijon, 23–25 septembre 1998* (Saint-Étienne, 2000), pp. 195–222 (especially p. 203, n. 33). See also Antonio Maria Adorisio, *Dinamiche librarie cistercensi. Da Casamari alla Calabria. Origine e dispersione della biblioteca manoscritta dell'abbazia di Casamari* (Casamari, 1996).

45 Paul Saenger, *Space between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997).

46 Gregory VII, ep. VI, 5b, no. 31, in *Das Register Gregors VII.*, vol. 2, 23, p. 402; Lat III c.16, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, eds Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (Bologna, 1973), p. 201 (with mention of prior regulations from the councils of Clermont in 1130 and Reims in 1131 in the critical apparatus); for the *amore scientie facti exules*, see Winfried Stelzer, "Zum Scholarenprivileg Friedrich Barbarossas (Authentica 'Habita')," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 34 (1978): 165; on funding: Gilbert Foliot, ep. 188 (1167/1168), *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Zachary Nugent Brooke (Cambridge, 1967), p. 261. See also ibid., ep. 189, p. 262. It was not until 1219 that Honorius III officially decreed the

possibility for clerics to take advantage of their benefice *in absentia* for five years during their studies, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Henri Denifle, vol. 1, *Ab anno 1200 usque ad annum 1286* (Paris, 1889), pp. 90–92, no. 32, p. 91, cf. also "Liber Extra," in *Corpus juris canonici emendatum et notis illustratum. Gregorii XIII. pont. max. iussu editum* (4 vols, Rome, 1582), vol. 2, X 5.5.5.

47 Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community. The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Kalamazoo, 1988); Julian Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of 'Amicitia,' The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (c. 1115–1183)," *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994): 237–60; Walter Ysebaert, "Medieval Letter-Collections as a Mirror of Circles of Friendship? The Example of Stephen of Tournai, 1128–1203," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 83 (2005): 285–300; Klaus Oschema, *Freundschaft und Nähe im spätmittelalterlichen Burgund. Studien zum Spannungsfeld von Emotion und Institution* (Köln, Weimar and Wien, 2006), especially pp. 117–68.

48 John of Salisbury, ep. 199, *The Letters of John of Salisbury. II: The Later Letters (1163–1180)*, ed. Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke (Oxford, 1979), p. 286.

49 On this point see, for instance, Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (London, 1972), p. 97. A paradigmatic example is found in the epistolary of the canonist Stephen of Tournai, ep. 179, *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai. Nouvelle* édition, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes/Paris, 1893), p. 217, where the author states that the exchange of letters is appropriate to begin and to keep a true friendship.

50 See, for instance, John McLoughlin, "'Amicitia' in Practice: John of Salisbury (c. 1120–1180) and his Circle," Daniel Williams (ed.), *England in the Twelfth Century. Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1990), 168: "[Adele Fiske's] work concentrates on the vocabulary and concepts of *amicitia* rather than its practice. While this approach is a valid one, it gives a lopsided impression if not counterbalanced with assessments of *amicitia* in practice." McLoughlin is referring to Adele M. Fiske, *Friends and Friendship in the Monastic Tradition* (Cuérnavaca, 1970).

51 An exhaustive study has been conducted by Jean de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérenger. La controverse eucharistique du XI^e siècle* (Leuven, 1971). For three decades nearly all of the people involved wrote letters, resorting very naturally to writing as a means of long-distance communication. Berengar himself seems to have relied on his students to disseminate his ideas in France, Germany, and Italy. Even if there were multiple channels of transmission, schools played a major part. The cathedral schools formed a communications network during the controversy, fueled by contacts between pupils and masters, particularly at the schools of Tours, Chartres and Liège which were important and visible nodes because of the letters they exchanged on the topic. From 1059, with the inclusion of the pope, the first network was seconded by another: the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Debates surrounding Berengar's doctrine at a number of councils pushed the popularity of the master of Tours to new heights. When his adversary, Lanfranc, became archbishop of Canterbury, England and later Ireland joined the list of areas where the controversy was known and discussed, and influence brought to bear.

52 Ian Stuart Robinson, "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII," *History*, 63 (1978): 1–22; Ian Stuart Robinson, "The Friendship Circle of Bernold von Constance and the Dissemination of Gregorian Ideas in Late Eleventh-Century Germany," in Julian Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 185–98; Timothy Reuter, "Zur Anerkennung Papst Innocenz' II. Eine neue Quelle," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 39 (1983): 395–416; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*; Julian Haseldine, "Thomas Becket: Martyr, Saint—and Friend?" in Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (eds), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages. Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 305–17.

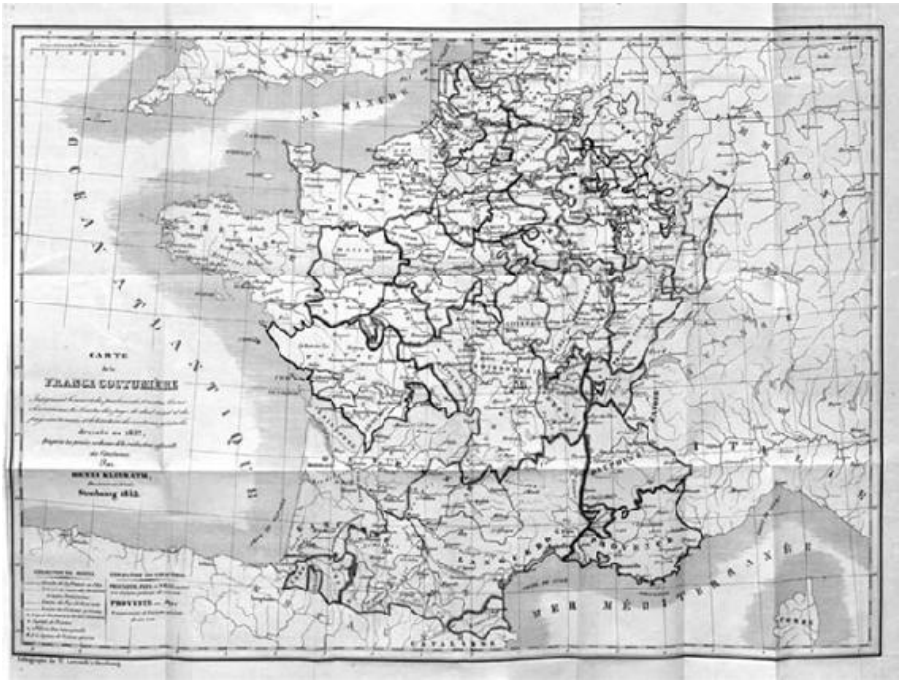
53 Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, p. 2.

Chapter 7
Inventing Legal Space: From Regional Custom to Common Law in the *Coutumiers* of Medieval France

Ada-Maria Kuskowski

The language of geography and images of maps have long dominated our general understanding of French customary law in the high Middle Ages.[1] Henri Klimrath established the first cartography of French medieval custom already in 1837 (see Map 7.1).[2] The most important feature of this map was the famed fault-line that ran more or less from La Rochelle to Lake Geneva and divided the *pays de coutumes*, the areas of Northern France governed by custom, from the *pays de droit écrit*, the areas of Southern France with a Roman-influenced law.[3]

Klimrath had worked by deduction from the geographic indicators in the *coutumiers* and from the limits of the regional Parlements in pre-Revolutionary France. The problematic nature of this method is quite clear: custom, legal practice, and geographic boundaries had undergone some notable changes between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries.[4] In the 1960s, Jean Yver adjusted this customary map for Northern France in his *Géographie Coutumière*, where he amended the territorial delimitation of the customs and gathered them into affiliated groups.[5]



Map 7.1 Map of customary law in France in the thirteenth century (Henri Klimrath, *Travaux sur l'histoire du droit français*. Paris: Joubert, 1843. Courtesy of the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library)

An essential source for these cartographers of medieval custom was found in the *coutumiers*, a new type of legal literature that appeared at the end of the twelfth century and proliferated in thirteenth. These *coutumiers* are commonly defined as private works that set the customs and usages of a specified region in writing and this area, ruled by a specific *coutume*, could be as small as a particular castellany or as large as a whole duchy.[6] These texts are seen as artifacts of the shift to the territoriality of law, the culmination of the story of an oral and personal custom that "crystallized," was tied to a specific territory and came to be designated by that territory.[7] Also, our understanding of the *coutumiers* is intimately linked to our general understanding of customary law during this period and, as Daniel Power has noted, modern scholars have seen the customs in the these texts as very "regionalized."[8] Custom and the *coutumiers*, then, are primarily seen as "territorial" and "regional," products of the insular legal culture of smaller geographic subsets and testimony of the power of the region vis à vis the crown.

As John Hudson has noted, much of the scholarly attention paid to medieval French custom has focused on these geographical aspects, likely mainly in view of the later importance of regional custom in the development of French law.[9] But is geography the best way to

understand our customary texts, the *coutumiers*? Jean Gilissen has warned that any map of custom before the sixteenth century will be imprecise.[10] In his study of the customs of Normandy, Daniel Power has shown that while custom was taking regional shape at the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries, both the general outline of custom and its particular instantiation were still changing.[11]

There have been a number of theoretical studies of the concept of "territory" as well as close studies of the construction of French "space."[12] However, law is a comparatively unstudied aspect of the creation of this space, and the study of space has largely yet to penetrate the field of legal history. Yet the creation of space and the concept of place are not only fundamental to law, they are also mutually constitutive in many ways. This is true beyond the obvious example of the nexus between law, territory, sovereignty, and the construction of the state. There is a multitude of other ways in which places in law create juridical spaces, to name only a few fundamental examples: law orders the relationship of people to the various spaces they inhabit by dividing the public from the private, it creates the rights over land in the most basic human relation to space that constitutes ownership, it legitimates conquest and control of land, it establishes jurisdiction which provides the space to "speak the law" over a certain people or territory, it provides rules when various *leges loci* or *leges terrae* collide, and it regulates travel between these various legal spaces.

The present chapter will take a step in looking at the relationship between law and space by examining the *coutumiers* and their legal geographies. We will do this through the notion of "place of thought"—the spatial image in didactic poetry that unified expression and reception of that thought—so finely described by Sarah Kay.[13] The application of this concept is apt because, as we shall see, the juridical space in the *coutumiers* participates in a similar convergence of discourse in unity that Kay describes for late medieval didactic texts.[14] The *coutumiers* and the customs within were not, as is commonly understood, strictly associated solely with one region. In fact, the traditional cartographies have misrepresented the juridical space envisaged by the lay jurists who wrote these texts. The *coutumiers* were not understood by their authors to be purely regional, nor did they see "custom" as a geographically fixed category. Rather, they envisaged a monologism that in legal language is designated as the "common," the discourse of unity known as a common law. While this notion is usually associated with English law, we will see that the authors of the *coutumiers* created a juridical space that made custom mobile, extra-regional, and a vehicle toward legal harmonization and toward a "common" place of thought.

The Thirteenth-century *Coutumiers*

This chapter will focus on the first French *coutumiers*, which were written in the vernacular in northern France in approximately the second half of the thirteenth century, because the territorial attributions in these texts have been a main source for the customary map of France.[15] These texts are the *Coutumes d'Anjou et du Maine* (1246), *Le conseil de Pierre de Fontaines* (1253), *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis* (1272/3), *Le livre des constitutions demenées el Chastelet de Paris* (between 1279–82), Philippe de Beaumanoir's *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* (1283), *L'Ancien Coutumier de Champagne* (1295), and the *Coutumier d'Artois* (between 1283–1302).[16]

Texts resembling the *coutumiers* appear at the end of the twelfth century, following the general explosion of writing during the twelfth-century Renaissance. The first of these were associated with Normandy and written in Latin.[17] However, when the *coutumiers* flowered in earnest, in the mid-thirteenth century onward, they did so in the vernacular and originated in various areas of northern France.[18] The *coutumiers* were completely different from previous legal writing because they presented, for the first time, the voice of the lay practitioner of the secular courts describing and attempting to theorize the practice of customary law in the vernacular. This meant that lay people acquired an unprecedented access to legal ideas, and an ability to exchange them though text.

Modern scholars have downplayed the importance of the *coutumiers* because they consider them "private" works, and so without the authority of officially enacted codes or legislation. While these texts were not officially enacted, the authoritative character of these texts is similar to modern legal treatise writing in Canada or *Restatements of the Law* in the United States, they were not formally binding, but were persuasive and influential.[19] Unofficial and influential were certainly not mutually exclusive during the thirteenth century, as the popularity of Roman law attests.

Most of the *coutumiers* authors are unknown, but they were clearly lay jurists with court experience. The texts do not contain lists of prohibitions or compensations, but mostly explain the author's view of the customs a lay court should follow once a dispute has begun. These customs were mostly procedural but also included some substantive rules. While the language of the texts is highly descriptive, it must be emphasized that the *coutumiers* were the product of analytical creativity and that writing custom consisted of not only a recording of tradition but also an invention of tradition.[20]

The Language of Custom

The close affiliation between law, land, and language most connotes the aspirations of the nationalisms of modernity. This later affiliation had an effect on how we read the customary geographies of the Middle Ages. The *coutumiers* were not written in Latin like earlier legal writing, but in the vernacular, and the northern *pays de coutumes* has been mapped on to the geography of the *langue d'oil*, while the southern *pays de droit écrit* has been indexed to the *langue d'oc*. Furthermore, not everyone spoke the same French (there was Picard, Champenois, Orléanais, Tourangeau, Poitevin, Normand, Francien, to name but a few) and dialect has been commonly used to locate the territorial provenance of the *coutumiers* manuscripts, so a text in the Norman dialect is usually thought to come from Normandy.[21]

In other words, the language of law in the *coutumiers* has been used to understand the place this law is supposed to define. However, the fluctuation in dialect between manuscripts of a single text hints that the texts had multilinguistic and multiregional appeal, the audience of these texts lay also beyond the locality or region traditionally associated with a particular text.[22]

Though they are supposed to be regional texts, a number of *coutumier* manuscripts were written in the Francien dialect.[23] Francien is the most common dialect among the different *coutumiers*. The thirteenth-century *coutumiers* all have at least one manuscript in this dialect. The use of this dialect can mean two things. Either the authors or copyists in the regions wanted to ennoble their texts by using "superior" Île-de-France French, or the copyist was a native Francien speaker. Both situations prove that the extra-regional appeal of the *coutumiers*: the first, because using an outside dialect and maintaining a regionalist stance is untenable, and the second, because the text had clearly already passed into an outsider's hands.

Francien is not the only extra-regional dialect in which the *coutumiers* appear. Most *coutumiers* have manuscripts in dialects that are unrelated to their affiliated region, and even include some southern dialects.[24] The *coutumiers* may have been transcribed by some well-traveled copyists or may have been transcribed for jurists who were prone to changes locations during their careers. This, however, cannot be the entire explanation. The different dialects used in the copying of the *coutumiers* must attest to the extra-regional appeal of these texts.

Shifting Territoriality

Geography has served as the prime way of identifying these texts, as mentioned above, perhaps because of the largely anonymous authorship of these texts. However, while each *coutumier* is traditionally indexed to a specific territorial unit, the manuscript tradition indicates that the texts were subject to a shifting territoriality. This suggests that the *coutumiers*, and the customs within, were subject to transplant and cross-pollination, and further suggests they were part of an organic process of the movement of ideas which were understood to have a more general application. This, in turn, means that the concept of space expressed by these texts is not simply the region or the comital court, it is a space above that reconciles the particular place within a larger "place of thought," a juridical space were custom can be detached from one specific locality.

The traditional regional attribution of a *coutumier* is not difficult to find. Take, as an example, the text that describes the customs of Champagne. It opens by saying "This is the book of rights and customs of Champagne," it attributes rules to that region by saying that "it is custom in Champagne," and in one manuscript it ends by saying "Here end the customs of Champagne."[25]

Generally, a *coutumier* will include a regional attribution either in a title or at the beginning of the text, in its discussion of specific rules, or within the last few sentences. Based on such geographic clues, each *coutumier* is understood to map onto a specific regional delimitation: Pierre de Fontaine's *coutumier* concerns the Vermandois, Philippe de Beaumanoir's *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* discusses the custom of the Beauvaisis, the Établissements *de Saint Louis* contain the customs of Touraine and Anjou in Book I and the customs of Orléans in Book II, and the various anonymous texts are specific to Artois, Normandy, Champagne and Touraine, and Maine.

This is partially true. The *coutumiers* do identify with these regions. This is why they give the impression of fixity of place which, in turn, hints at regional identities tied to specific territories that asserted themselves through ideas of custom. At first sight, these threads of custom, identity, region, and geography seem to weave together convincingly.

The various manuscripts of this text, however, seem to present a contradiction because they do not always agree about the identity of the region to which a specific set of customs attached. This can best be seen by looking at the manuscript tradition of the *Etablissements de Saint Louis*. Paul Viollet's critical edition of the *Etablissements* is divided into two parts. Part I contains the customs of Touraine and Anjou (*Usages de Touraine et d'Anjou*), while Part II contains the customs of the Orléans region (*Li Usages d'Orlenois*).[26] However, not all

manuscripts present the same picture. Instead, they tie the same text to different territories.

Take, for instance, Book I of the *Etablissements*. This text is commonly known as the *Usages de Touraine et d'Anjou*.[27] Some manuscripts, however, do not designate them as the customs of Touraine-Anjou at all and, instead, they present all of Book I as the first part of the king's *Etablissements* according to the usage of Paris and Orléans.[28] This means that the regional customs of Touraine and Anjou, a cultural and geographic space distinctly separate from the royal domain, were being passed off as the customs of the domain. If the customs of the various regions were indeed so distinct, this would be jarring to any contemporary. Would such a book not be useless to litigants, lawyers, and judges? If we conceive of custom, as recorded in the *coutumiers*, as deeply embedded in territorial identity, even if there was commonality between lay courts, it becomes rather striking that the same rules could be attributed to areas that were so significantly culturally different as Touraine and Anjou were from Paris and Orléans.

The shifting territoriality of these texts goes beyond this. The first nine provisions of Book I were actually royal ordinances.[29] We know this from unrelated works and not from the *Etablissements*, which incorporate the royal ordinances into the customs of Book I without ever saying they were royal ordinances.[30] So royal decree was being presented as regional custom.

Viollet's investigations led him to see yet other extraterritorial connections. He found that the contents of the customs of Touraine-Anjou in the *Etablissements* basically correspond to the Customs of Anjou and Maine (*Coutume d'Anjou et Maine*), about 30 years its junior.[31] Actually, the *Coutume d'Anjou et Maine* basically became Book I of the *Etablissements* (or the customs of Touraine-Anjou, depending on the manuscript). There is so little variation between the two texts: 24 insertions are made in approximately 150 chapters, that Charles-Jean Beautemps-Beaupré was undoubtedly right to say that the *Usages de Touraine et d'Anjou* in the *Etablissements* is in fact the glossed version of *Coutume d'Anjou et Maine*.[32] This glossed version, however, partially changed the identity of the text. The attribution to Anjou remained, but the earlier customs of Maine were transposed to Touraine.

Viollet explained this away by saying that the juridical nuances that separated Touraine and Maine were probably not important enough for this fuzzy territoriality to be a problem.[33] Perhaps. It does not, however, explain why so many authors of subsequent *coutumiers* used the *Etablissements* (the customs of Touraine, Anjou, and Orléans) in writing their own work. We can see the influence of this text on the

customs of Brittany, Champagne, Artois, Picardy, even in Beaumanoir's erudite masterpiece.[34] Historians have often dismissed the *Etablissements* for its crudeness and lack of sophistication, giving the text little attention in comparison to Beaumanoir's erudite, refined work. In the Middle Ages, however, it was the former that captured the interest of contemporaries. The *Etablissements* was the most popular French *coutumier* of the later thirteenth century. Tellingly, an abridged version of the *Etablissements* pops up in Champagne, and this new abridged version of the customs of Touraine-Anjou-Orléans holds itself out to be the customs of both France (the royal domain) and of Champagne.[35] In the first years of the fourteenth century, the *Etablissements* even makes its mark on the South, in Poitou, where a jurist glosses the text.[36]

This treatment of geographic attribution of custom, rather unexpected for the modern reader, actually seems to be the practice of patricians who practiced law, and not a problem at all. Rather than trying to explain away this shifting territorial attribution, we should see it as an indication of how to look at the relationship between text and territory. After all, the territorial attributions in each manuscript described a relationship between geography and text that was perceived at least within the conceivable limits of possibility. Why, then, are all these relationships between text and territory conceivable?

Judicial Abstraction and a Royal Connection

The answer seems to lie in a movement towards judicial abstraction that was occurring during this period. "Judicial abstraction" is a term coined by Alain Bourreau to describe the dynamic process whereby the complex and diverse situations that give rise to conflicts are generalized and formalized.[37] The shifting territoriality that we keep seeing in these texts is a result of an abstraction of norms that leads to spatial transcendence.

There seem to have been two main factors that contributed to the movement to judicial abstraction reflected in the *coutumiers*. On the one hand, the answer must at least partially lie in the expansion of royal power and of the territorial state. On the other, the intense secular legal activity of the thirteenth century seems to contribute to the development of the generalizable norm.

The writing of the first *coutumiers* in the second half of the thirteenth century occurs simultaneously with the cementing of the links between power and the territory with which it is identified, the king shifts from *rex Francorum* to *rex Franciae*, and "France" is

constituted as a space.[38] The swift establishment of royal sovereignty no doubt went hand in hand with the expansion of jurists entering the royal service and of juridical study generally.[39] As Jacques Krynen has noted, royal power cemented its grasp on the kingdom primarily through justice, by insisting upon the judicial sovereignty of the king.[40]

The *Etablissements* are the only thirteenth-century French *coutumier* specifically attributed to a king. There is good reason to think that this royal attribution might be linked to the shifting regional affiliations in the different manuscripts. Louis IX (1226–70) was not just any king. His concern for justice was legendary. Canonized soon after his death, he became Saint Louis, whose words and deeds were to be revered and emulated as a sort of informal constitution.[41] This *coutumier*, it is true, was the work of a redactor who copied and pasted previous texts to create the patchwork known as the *Etablissements*. It was probably a later copyist who attributed the text to the king. Only three manuscripts contain this attribution, but it was the one that had captured popular imagination, even inspiring a poem.[42] It was only in the nineteenth century that most scholars realized the text was not the work of the king.[43] Previously, as far as we know, it was generally considered as a representation of Saint Louis's will, if not authorship.

The *Etablissements* seems to have been the best-traveled *coutumier*, as demonstrated in its geographic spread outlined above. The remarkable shifting territoriality of this text must largely be due to its royal connection. In the manuscripts attributing the text to Louis IX, the personal charisma of this unique king as well as the powerful *post mortem* mythology that enveloped his character undoubtedly played a part. In those manuscripts that did not share this royal attribution, the traditional bastions of royal power, Paris and Orléans, were mentioned often enough to give the text the support of royal authority.

This can also be seen in other texts. Manuscript M of Pierre de Fontaines's *Conseil à un ami*, copied between 1280 and 1300, is one example.[44] It states that the texts record "the customs of France and of Champagne and of Vermandois and of other lay courts."[45] This attribution generalizes the customs from Vermandois to other lay courts and, beyond that, it also makes the particular customs of Vermandois those of the royal domain and of Champagne.

It is tempting to see a direct correlation between the expansion of royal power and the shifting territoriality of these texts. However, some *coutumiers* show that shifting territoriality could also occur when there was no discernable royal connection. Thus, while expanding royal power and the territorialization of the French kingdom could explain the movement of custom and customary text, movement when

there was no royal connection seems to have been due to the increasingly abstract thinking of jurists who participated in, wrote about, and theorized the activity of the lay courts.

Pierre de Fontaine's *Conseil à un ami* was also subject to this sort of judicial gerrymandering of legal ideas, though in this case the movement did not seem to show a royal connection. Philip of Novara seems to have used it for his lawbook written for the crusader kingdoms in Cyprus and Jerusalem, *Livre à un sien ami en forme de plais* (c. 1264), which he also styled as advice to a friend. The *Coutumier d'Artois*, furthermore, copies extensively from Pierre's *Conseil*. The *Coutumier d'Artois* copies entire passages verbatim, including the part in Pierre's Prologue where he claims to be doing something new that no one before has done by writing customs down. The *Conseil* continues to be used for other works in the fourteenth century; passages are quoted in the *Somme rurale* and in the *Coutumier de Charles VI*.[46] Another version of the *Conseil*, probably a little later, appears translated into Dutch.[47]

This shifting territoriality also appears in the manuscript tradition of the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*. Robert Jacob has noted in passing that the prologue and the conclusion to Beaumanoir's work announce slightly different goals-customs of the Beauvais region, and customs of the county of Clermont.[48] Beaumanoir states that he is writing his book, on the customs of Beauvaisis, so that Robert, the Count of Clermont, can know how he should keep the customs of the county of Clermont, and Jacob is certainly correct that the text seems to vacillate between the two.[49] If anything, this indicates the difficulties with writing a purely regional custom without bringing in other regions. This difficulty is evident from the beginning of Beaumanoir's work, where he explains in his prologue that in order to write his *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* he will draw from the judgments of neighboring castellanies and the law common to the kingdom of France.[50] This, in turn, indicates the composite nature of written custom and the generative role of the *coutumiers* authors.

A more interesting case of shifting territory that concerned Beaumanoir shows up in a fourteenth-century abridged version of his text.[51] This abridged version slices off the Prologue, excises Beaumanoir's name from the text, removes passages that refer to the Beauvaisis, changes references to the Count of Clermont to "the sovereign," and in so doing removes any information that would permit you to identify the original text, its author and its geographical ambit.[52] Only one geographic indicator remained in the text, in the chapter on inheritance, where the redactor inserts two paragraphs mid-text that refer to the region of Champagne.[53] Champagne, as a region, does not seem to be the special focus of the text. This abridged

version takes the customs of Beauvais/Clermont outlined by Beaumanoir and makes them virtually placeless. This clearly also demonstrates the generative role of the *coutumiers* authors, but, beyond that, it also shows the changing conception of custom from territorialized rule to abstract norms of general application.

I would like to suggest that this movement toward spatial transcendence and judicial abstraction evinced in the *coutumiers* can be linked to a nascent concept of *droit commun* developing contemporaneously in France.

The *Coutumier* Authors and the Common Law

The *ius commune* is generally thought to be the one form of "common law" in the French kingdom and "common law," as a uniform territorial secular royal law, as a uniquely English development.[54] While the term *droit commun* itself has recently drawn much ink, there remain many questions about the extent of its legal implications.[55] This section will examine one small aspect of this vast subject: the extra-regional juristic practices of the *coutumiers* authors and their link to the contemporary development of the notion of "common law" in France. The assumption that these are regional texts containing regional customs and the further assumption that local custom is necessarily in opposition to larger types of legal "commoning" have obscured the presence of some core of common custom in the *coutumiers*.

Restricting these texts to regional delimitations effaces the important part these texts played in creating something common and, in fact, participated in the formation of a "common law," *à la française*, comparable to initiatives of crown and jurists on the other side of the Channel. This term today may seem to describe a quintessentially Anglo-American form of legal culture, inimical both to the narrative of regional custom of the *Ancien* régime and the codal culture that then replaced it.[56] However, the term "common law" flowers in thirteenth-century legal sources both in England and in France.

Indeed, the *coutumiers* refer to "common law." What was meant by this term has elicited much debate and, in fact, monopolized analysis of the subject. Scholarly treatment of this "common law" has been caught in a tug-of-war between those who believe that it refers to the learned laws of the *ius commune* and those who consider it to refer in some sense to a customary law. Since the first article written on the subject by Paul van Wetter in 1908, many have devoted studies to the subject or treated it in passing.[57] Despite these varying opinions, the

general view has long remained that the *ius commune* was the only type of "common law" in thirteenth-century France. However, a recent thorough study by André Castaldo has established beyond a reasonable doubt that the "common law" mentioned in the *coutumiers* is customary, not learned, in nature.[58] This means that France was not split into a multitude of independent regions with their own legal customs but, like England during the same period, was developing legal commonality based on custom.[59]

Despite the significant work on the term "common law" in the *coutumiers*, centering mainly on Beaumanoir's text, there has been little discussion of the implications of the term. One implication, however, bears directly on the relationship between regions and customs in the *coutumiers*. The movement towards abstraction in the thinking of lay jurists, as we have seen in the *coutumiers*, and thus the thinking of rules and procedures in generalizable terms, created the conceptual space for thinking of legal commonality within the largest jurisdictional set, namely the kingdom. This conception of custom, normativity, and legal territoriality offer the best explanation for why customs could be transferred from one region to another unproblematically by simply changing the name of the region in a different manuscript.

It also explains why the *coutumier* constantly refer to areas beyond their region. This can already be seen in the earliest text in our group. Pierre de Fontaines is clear in his prologue to the *Conseil à un ami* that he has been asked "to write a text according to the usages and customs of Vermandois *and other lay courts*."[60] There is some variation on the wording in different manuscripts, but they do agree about the extra-regional scope of the text. According to Manuscript A, Pierre de Fontaines writes about "the customs of the region and *all* lay courts."[61] Manuscript P elides the region and simply states that the text concerns the "customs of *all* lay courts."[62]

The important point of emphasis here is the lay court. This is a jurisdictional claim, and means that the text is describing the customs of the lay, secular, courts as opposed to the church courts which had their own jurisdiction, procedure and rules. The different manuscripts do not seem to be concerned with opposing the Vermandois to other regions. If anything, the similarities between different regions are assumed.

Manuscript M emphasizes this point. As Marnier notes, all references to rules normally made "according to our usage" ("selon notre usage") are instead made "according to right usage" ("selonc droit usage") in manuscript M.[63] In one case, "our usage" ("nostres usages") becomes "usages that exist generally everywhere" ("usages qui s'estent généraument partout").[64] In effect, manuscript M has

written out specific geographic attribution in the text in order to emphasize the general application of the rules to lay courts. It is clear, then, that Pierre de Fontaines, and those who copied his text even more so, believed that the *Conseil à un ami* was not simply a regional text but described rules that were generally relevant to lay courts.

This belief is echoed in the *coutumiers* that followed. The *Etablissements de Saint Louis* also has rules that were upheld both by regional custom and by the usage of lay courts.[65] For instance, there is a rule that after the death of a spouse, the live spouse may not give an unequal inheritance to their children unless all the children agree to it, as mentioned above.[66] The main text of the critical edition attributes this to the practice of the Orléans district.[67] Manuscript E attributes it to both Paris and Orléans, while manuscript J goes beyond this and attributes the rule to the practice of lay courts.[68] Eleven other manuscripts, about half of those we have, attribute the rule to the practice of many regions, "l'usage de divers païs."[69]

In fact, it may be that in putting together the critical edition, Paul Viollet was privileging the manuscripts that gave a regional attribution to the rules, as opposed to a more general one.[70] This voluntary blindness can be seen more clearly in his choice of attribution for a rule that those accused of murder, treachery, or rape should respond to the accusation immediately, without any delay provided for counsel.[71] He chooses to attribute this to practice in Orléans in the main text of the critical edition, but this attribution only appears in four manuscripts.[72] Two manuscripts give no geographic attribution, manuscript J is the only one to specifically designate the lay courts, but all the other manuscripts, the majority, explain that this rule accords with the practice of *divers païs*, many regions.[73] Again, Viollet makes a similar choice to privilege the manuscripts with the regional attribution of a rule concerning the proper summons of a baron to court.[74]

The rules in the *Etablissements* are not all attributed to a geographic space, however small or large, but they are very often simply attributed to the practice of lay courts. The text occasionally specifies that it is referring to the practice of the lay court of Orléans, but the majority of references to lay court are made to lay court alone.[75] The same is true for Philippe de Beaumanoir who mentions the customs of the lay courts many times throughout his *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*.[76] The question is whether the *Etablissements* and the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* refer to regional lay courts, of whether they refer to lay courts more generally.

Some clue may be obtained from the meticulous Beaumanoir. When Beaumanoir refers to lay courts, he refers to the general practice in lay courts and not just to the lay courts in Beauvaisis. He mentions

lay courts when he is trying to differentiate their customs from those of the church courts.[77] He makes clear that he is only interested in discussing the lay courts, and not the ecclesiastical courts.[78] He does devote an entire chapter to the jurisdiction of the lay court and that of the ecclesiastical court, to avoid jurisdictional confusion.[79] He is quite clear about the cases where "the secular courts should be in control, and Holy Church should not get involved."[80] There is no such discussion of the respective jurisdictions of different regions, or choice of law rules in case of disagreement about "regional" jurisdiction.

Beaumanoir's references to lay courts, then, do not designate how these courts function in his specific region, but designate the general practice of the secular courts as opposed to ecclesiastical courts. That is why he can tag them to general popular wisdom, for instance "it is said that in the secular courts you only argue once."[81] A little earlier, the *Etablissements* similarly quote some proverbial wisdom from the lay courts: "for according to the custom in secular courts, 'a commoner's purse is his patrimony.'"[82]

Our other texts confirm the tendency to reach beyond the region. The *Ancien coutumier de Champagne* implies that there is little difference in the practice of the regional courts of the lord or prince, and the royal court of the king.[83] The *Demenées el Chastelet de Paris* claims to describe the "custom of France and especially of the Châtelet in Paris."[84] This reference to "France" may be to the king's domain rather than the kingdom (which by the time this text was being written was coming significantly close to the kingdom), but it nonetheless shows that a text can claim a specific place and general application at the same time. In any case, the text opens with a clear and overt statement of its *general* application: "Here begins the book which teaches how we ought to undertake to speak before all judges, especially in lay courts."[85] The *Coutumier d'Artois*, as other texts before it, also refers to the general practice of lay court as well as "the customs of Artois and other places."[86] For instance, "by the general custom of lay courts," people caught red-handed committing a crime are judged by the *lex loci*.[87] Such a rule would be useless if it were not generally applied. The authors of these texts, attributed to regions, clearly feel that many of the customs they described were general to the lay courts. The content of the French common law, then, is the general rules and procedures that are shared by the lay courts.

Conclusion

This chapter does not attempt to do away with regional custom. There were un-doubtedly differences between the customs of various places

in thirteenth-century France. Rather, this study argues that the picture of thirteenth-century customary law in France is more than a map of regional custom. The authors of the *coutumiers* not only recognized commonalities but also created them as the *coutumiers* were read and even adopted outside the region of their original affiliation and, in fact, participated in the formation a French "common law" in the thirteenth century.

The development of written custom, in this case, is less related to fractured regionalism, and more part of the consolidation of central power and a vehicle toward legal harmonization. The didactic legal text was well in line with didactic literature on this point, the *coutumiers* authors envisaged a "place of thought," a juridical space that tagged place but participated in a converging discourse that sought "commonness" and unity. Without the regional narrative, we must also accept that the *coutumiers* cannot be defined simply as texts that set the customs of a region in writing.[88] They must be redefined, at the very least, as juristic texts that described, made sense of, and even invented customs on various jurisdictional and cultural scales. "Territory" has been understood in myriad ways and seems to be the dominant term for expressing spatial relationships.[89] However, Elisabeth Zadora-Rio's idea of parochial territory as a network of places and relations seems more fitting to describe the nature of space in the *coutumiers*, and can more easily account for the expansion of the ambit of the texts as well as the movement toward generalization and abstraction.[90]

Daniel Power has shown that "a neat model of customs, clearly defined in nature and by geography, does not accord easily with the history of the Norman frontier."[91] This is because the relationship between custom and various places and spaces is not quite what it has been assumed to be. It emphasizes difference despite commonality, it looks different as a judicial and as a notarial map, it is anachronistic. Most importantly, the cartographies reify borderlines. While the *coutumiers* can discuss both the customs of the region and the general customs of the lay courts, the cartographies are inevitably fated to represent distinct and discrete bodies of custom. To represent the true ambit of text and custom, any map ought to show the geographic range of each text and take into account the movement that seemed to be fundamental to the juristic networks of the second half of the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth. These networks developed existing juridical spaces and created new ones, they also sought harmony and custom that encompasses the particulars. While there will be, sometimes contradictory, overlap, a true customary map would represent the "place of thought" the *coutumiers* authors felt custom inhabited and the juridical space they reflected and created.

[1] The research for this chapter was generously funded by the Mommsen Fellowship, given to advance dissertation research.

[2] Henri Klimrath, *Etudes sur les coutumes* (Paris, 1837).

[3] Jean Hilaire, *La vie du droit* (Paris, 1995), p. 157. For a good introduction to the "two zones" of France's juridical map at their relationship to Roman law and to custom, see Olivier Guillot, Albert Rigaudière, and Yves Sassier, *Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale: des temps féodaux aux temps de l'état* (2 vols, Paris, 1994), p. 139ff. This line between the two zones is now understood to have been rather blurry and pock-marked in the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth, with enclaves of the other "system" on either side; ibid., p. 140. Jean Hilaire has also critiqued this map for being essentially judicial. He notes that the ambit of custom may better be seen by looking at notarial practice, which, at least in the South, is an awkward match for Klimrath's map (Hilaire, p. 159). The disjunction between judicial and notarial maps should, in itself, lead us to question a unified customary law indexed to specific territory.

[4] An excellent case study of these geographic changes may be found in Daniel J. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 148–51.

[5] Jean Yver, *Egalité entre héritiers et exclusion des enfants dotés: essai de géographie coutumière* (Paris, 1966). Yver's method was to follow a specific rule of inheritance: the equality of heirs in inheritance, and the exception that dowered children were excluded from inheritance, and then to see to what extent it made a mark on the various regions of the *pays de coutumes*. Yver has also argued that instead of discussing individual customs, we need to see them instead as part of customary groupings. See also Jean Yver, "Les caractères originaux du groupe de coutumes de l'ouest de la France," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 30 (1952): 18–79. Paul Ourliac and Jean-Louis Gazzaniga offer a useful updated summary in their discussion of the "juridical map" of these customary groupings in "Essai de géographie juridique," in Paul Ourliac and Jean-Louis Gazzaniga, *Histoire de droit privé français, de l'an mil au Code Civil* (Paris, 1985), pp. 81–120.

[6] Jean Gilissen, *La coutume (typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*) (Turnhout, 1982), p. 86; Guido van Dievoet, *Les coutumiers, les styles, les formulaires et les "artes notariae"* (Turnhout, 1986), p. 13; Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden, 1993), p. 28.

[7] Gilissen, *La coutume*, 33. Also see Simeon L. Guterman, *From Personal to Territorial Law: Aspects of the History and Structure of the Western Legal-Consitutional Tradition* (Metuchen, 1972).

[8] Daniel J. Power, "French and Norman Frontiers in the Central Middle Ages," in Daniel J. Power and Naomi Standen (eds), *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700* (London, 1999), p. 109. Power is skeptical of this and does not think custom had such well-defined borders.

[9] John G.H. Hudson, "Customs, Laws and the Interpretation of Medieval Law," in Per Andersen and Mia Münster-Swendsen (eds), *Custom: The Development and Use of a Legal Concept in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 9.

[10] Gilissen, *La coutume*, 33.

[11] Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, p. 161.

[12] See for instance Fabrice Ripoll and Vincent Veschambre, "Le territoire des géographes: quelques points de repères sur les usages contemporains," in Benoît Cursente and Mireille Mousnier (eds), *Les territoires du médiéviste* (Rennes 2005), pp. 271–91; Daniel Nordman and Jacques Revel, "La formation de l'espace français," in André Burguière and Jacques Revel (eds), *Histoire de la France. 1. L'espace français* (Paris, 1989), pp. 39–209.

13 See Sarah Kay, *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval Didactic Poetry* (Philadelphia, 2007).

14 Ibid., p. 3.

15 What follows is a brief introduction to the *coutumiers*. For more on the nature of the *coutumiers*, please see my dissertation, "Writing Custom: Juristic Imagination and the Invention of Customary Law in Thirteenth-Century France" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 2013).

16 In England, the first treatises written in the vernacular (that is to say in French) were also written around this time; Serge Lusignan, *La langue des rois au Moyen Âge: le français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris, 2004), pp. 23, 155ff.

17 Namely, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England commonly called Glanvill* (c. 1187), the *Très ancient coutumier de Normandie* (c. 1200), and the *Summa de Legibus Normannie* (c. 1235). All of these were fairly swiftly translated into French. For text commonly known as Glanvill as the first of the French *coutumiers*, see Paul Hyams, "The Common Law and the French Connection," in Reginald Allen Brown (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies. III. Proceedings of the Battle Conference* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 77–86.

18 The vernacular first appears in charters in the communal cities in Northern France around 1200, and by the dawn of the fourteenth century it is generally the language of the cities and feudal lords of Northern France; Serge Lusignan, *La langue des rois au Moyen Âge*, pp. 12, 91. The Parlement in Paris is slower to pass from Latin to vernacular and seems to have vacillated between linguistic choices, but otherwise in the *pays coutumiers* the vernacular mostly supplanted Latin as the juridical language of choice by the 1300s; ibid., p. 92. Normandy remained "the last bastion of Latin" through till the end of the thirteenth century; ibid., pp. 47, 92. This perhaps explains why the two earliest *coutumiers*-like texts, the *Statua et Consuetudines Normannie* (between 1199 and 1294) and the *Summa de legibus Normanniae* (c. 1235), both from Normandy, were the only northern French *coutumiers* ever written in Latin and even then they were almost immediately translated into French.

19 While the *coutumier* manuscripts do not contain significant marginal annotation, the variation in text between the different manuscripts attests that copies were made for or by an audience that was thinking critically about the contents of the text and adjusting the text to their own perception of and desire for right practice. Though the *coutumiers* are largely absent from court records, neither these courts nor their records had a culture of recurrent textual citation in the manner of contemporary ecclesiastical jurisdiction and modern court records, nor should we expect to find scholastic citation practices in the records of the lay court.

20 See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1990). Hobsbawm emphasizes that "custom" and "tradition" must be distinguished because the former, which he describes as a combination of flexibility in substance with formalism in precedent, is qualitatively different from the latter, which he sees as the ritual and trappings that surround substantial action; "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, pp. 2–3. Hobsbawm is right that customary law does not quite fall into the category of paraphernalia and trappings that constitute the sort of invented tradition he describes. The introduction or shaping of legal norms that intend to regulate conduct is not quite the same as introducing the wearing of kilts as marker of identity. It is more useful to see custom as a "constructed" tradition, rather than as an "invented" one.

21 Even before the expansion of the French crown in the thirteenth century, the

French from the royal domain and especially from the Paris region (*francien*) was understood by many to be better, superior to other dialects. For more on dialects, See Lusignan, p. 62ff. Interestingly, until the twelfth century, the vernacular is referred to as "romana lingua" or "roman," but during the twelfth century "franceis," and later "françois" begin to overtake it; ibid., pp. 221–2. Lusignan recounts an episode from the miracles of Saint Louis collected by Guillaume de Chartres soon after 1290, where "a deaf and dumb man from Bourgogne went to pray at Saint Louis's grave in Saint-Denis to recover these senses. Lo! A miracle occurred. He recovered the ability to speak, and Saint Louis added the perk of speaking it properly, instead of recovering the Bourguignon dialect, he recovered good Parisian French!" Ibid., p. 21. Other than Francien, Picard was the most widespread rival dialect; ibid., p. 225.

22 The practice of tying a manuscript to a particular region assumes that people never left the place in which they grew up. Lay jurists had a notable tendency to move around. Nonetheless, a fluctuation in dialects does show the texts had an appeal beyond their attributed ambit.

23 The oldest translation of the *Statua et Consuetudines Normannie* into French that we have was written in the Île-de-France dialect, and not written in the Norman dialect, on this see, "Introduction," in *Coutumiers de Normandie, Textes Critiques*, ed. Ernest-Joseph Tardif (2 vols, Paris, 1903), vol. 1, part II, pp. xl, l. The earliest extant version of Pierre de Fontaine's text, copied between 1260–80, is also in the language of the Île-de-France; "Introduction," Pierre de Fontaines, *Le conseil de Pierre de Fontaines, ou traité de l'ancienne jurisprudence française*, ed. M.A.J. Marnier (Paris, 1846), p. xxxvii. Philippe de Beaumanoir's text is written in both the Île-de-France dialect and in Picard.

24 Manuscript M of Pierre de Fontaine's work is written in a southern dialect; Pierre de Fontaines, p. xxxvii. The *Coutumier d'Artois* is the only one written in dialects not connected to the Île-de-France, but in the Artois and Picard dialects. See "Introduction," *Coutumier d'Artois*, ed. Adolphe Tardif (Paris, 1883), p. xvi. The difference is visually significant: *gages* and *waiges, manaces* and *manaiches, suer* becomes *sereurs*, and so on.

25 "C'est li livre de drois et des costumes de Champegne," *L'ancien coutumier de Champagne (XIII^e siècle)*, ed. Paulette Portejoie (Poitiers, 1956), p. 131: "il est coustume en Champane," ibid., § II, V. This explicit occurs only in Portejoie's manuscript A where it says "ci faillent les coustumes de Champaigne," ibid., p. 230.

26 *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, ed. Paul Viollet (4 vols, Paris, 1881); *The* Etablissements de Saint Louis*: Thirteenth-Century Law Texts from Tours, Orléans, and Paris*, trans. F.R.P. Akehurst (Philadelphia, 1996) [hereafter "*Etablissements*"]. Viollet does not break up the two parts of book one, while Akehurst separates the royal ordinances from the Customas of Touraine and Anjou in his translation. I will use Akehurst's English translation unless otherwise indicated.

27 Book II is pretty uncontroversial—the customs of Orléans are sometimes attributed to Orléans alone, sometimes to both Orléans and Paris: "L'usage dou Chatelet d'Orliens en cort de baronnie," "L'usage d'Orlenois et de Paris," and "L'usage dou chatelet de Paris et d'Orliens," *Etablissements*, p. 327, n. 7. That the same customs might be attributed sometimes to Orléans, and sometimes to Orléans and Paris is not very startling as both of these cities had long been part of the royal domain.

28 The title of the customs of Touraine-Anjou are drawn from the explicit. The text that Viollet chose is from the manuscripts that end with: "The usages of Touraine and Anjou finish here" ["Ci fenist li Usages de Touraine et d'Anjou"], *Etablissements*, § I.175. Other manuscripts, however, close Book I with "The first books of the Establishments of the king of France according to the usage of Paris and

Orléans and baronial court end here" ["Ci fenist li premiers livres des Establissemenz le roi de France selon l'Usage de Paris et d'Orliens et de cort de baronie"], *Etablissements*, pp. 325, 325 n. 7.

29 See Viollet, *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, vol.1, pp. 5–8.

30 Viollet points this out in his introduction (ibid.), but does not separate the first nine provisions from the text that follows and kept the text united, as presented in the manuscripts. See Viollet, *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, vol. 2, p. 19. Akehurst opens Book I with the first nine provisions under the title "The Rules of Procedures in the Châtelet," and provision ten onwards are separated and placed under the title "The Customs of Touraine and Anjou," Akehurst, *Etablissements*, pp. 7, 15.

31 Viollet, *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, vol. 1, pp. 8–33. See *Coutumes d'Anjou et du Maine*, in *Coutumes et institutions de l'Anjou et du Maine antérieurs au XVI^e siècle*, ed. Charles-Jean Beautemps-Beaupré (8 vols, Paris, 1877), vol. 1, pp. 64–176. The *Coutumes d'Anjou et Maine* correspond to provision ten onwards of Book I, and predate the royal ordinances mentioned above.

32 Beautemps-Beaupré, "Observations sur les texts A, B et C," in *Coutumes et institutions*, vol. 1, p. 15.

33 Ibid., p. 23. Viollet has convincing arguments for seeing the *Coutume d'Anjou et de Maine* as the work of a royal officer as well.

34 Viollet, *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, vol. 1, pp. 280–394.

35 See *Abrégé Champenois in Etablissements*, vol. 4, pp. 141–87.

36 Geneviève Hasenhor and Michel Zink (eds), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1992), p. 418.

37 Alain Boureau, *La loi du royaume. Les moines, le droit et la construction de la nation anglaise (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 2004), pp. 18–19.

38 Nordman and Revel, "La formation de l'espace français," in *Histoire de la France*, pp. 71, 72. By 1254 the king has shifted from *rex Francorum* to *rex Franciae* in the acts of the royal chancellery, and this evolution seems to be complete by 1300; ibid., p. 71.

39 Jacques Krynen, *L'empire du roi. Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), p. 69ff.

40 Ibid., p. 252.

41 William Chester Jordan has noted that Saint Louis's life in fact became the unwritten constitution of medieval France in his concluding words to the *Law, Justice and Governance: New Views on Medieval Constitutionalism*, organized by Richard Kaeuper at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, April 2–4, 2009.

42 "Chanson sur les Etablissements du roi Saint Louis," in Antoine Leroux De Lincy, "Chansons historiques des XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 1/1 (1840): 359–88. This poem was a lament about the legal changes brought in by Louis IX.

43 Viollet, *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, vol. 1, p. 1.

44 For more on manuscript M, see Marnier, "Introduction," *Le conseil de Pierre de Fontaines*, p. xxxvii.

45 "… les costumes de France et de Champaingne et de Vermandois et d'autres corz laies," Pierre de Fontaines, p. 4, n. 1.

46 Marnier, "Introduction," *Le conseil de Pierre de Fontaines*, p. xliii.

47 Paul Collinet, "Une traduction néerlandaise inédite du Conseil de Pierre de Fontaines," *Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire*, 70 (1901): 408–19. The manuscript (Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles ms. 16775) is from the fifteenth century, and it contains various texts relating to the political history of Flemish cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; ibid., pp. 409–10. Collinet

does not give a potential date for the translation itself, though he says the manuscript is undoubtedly a copy of an earlier one; ibid., p. 413.

48 Robert Jacob, "Beaumanoir versus Révigny: The Two Faces of Customary Law in Philip the Bold's France," in *Essays on the Poetic and Legal Writings of Philippe de Remy and his Son Philippe de Beaumanoir of Thirteenth-Century France* (Lewiston, 2001), p. 271.

49 "… par cest livre pourra il estre enseignié comment il devra garder et fere garder les coustumes de sa terre de la conteé de Clermont," Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. A. Salmon (Paris, 1970); *The* Coutumes de Beauvaisis *of Philippe de Beaumanoir*, trans. F.R.P. Akehurst (Philadelphia, 1992), Prologue, p. 3. I will use Akehurst's translation unless otherwise specified.

50 Philippe de Beaumanoir, Prologue, p. 6. We will return to the law common to the kingdom of France later in this chapter.

51 This is Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 5332; André Giffard, "Un troisième abrégé de Beaumanoir," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et* étranger, 30 (1906): 626. Giffard says it is a fourteenth-century text.

52 Ibid., p. 627.

53 Ibid.

54 See "Introduction," in John *Hudson*, The *Formation* of the *English Common Law*: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta (London, 1996).

55 For scholars who have treated *droit commun* in depth, see André Castaldo, "Pouvoir royal, droit savant et droit commun coutumier dans la France du Moyen Âge. À propos de vues nouvelles II. Le droit romain est-il un droit commun?" *Droits: Revue Française de Théorie, de Philosophie et de Culture Juridiques*, 47 (2008): 173–247; Gérard Giordanengo, "*Jus commune* et 'droit commun' en France du XIII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle," in Jacques Krynen (ed.), *Droit romain*, jus civile, *et droit français* (Toulouse, 1999), pp. 220–47, see especially p. 232; Jacques Krynen, "Le droit romain, droit commun de France," *Droits: Revue Française de Théorie, de Philosophie et de Culture Juridiques*, 38 (2003): 21–35; André Gouron, "Le droit commun a-t-il été l'héritier du droit romain?" *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 142/1 (1998): 290; Albert Rigaudière, "La pénétration du vocabulaire édictal romain dans les coutumiers du nord de la France aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles" in his *Penser et construire l'Etat dans la France du Moyen Âge (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle*) (Paris, 2003), pp. 83–7; Paul van Wetter, "Le droit romain et Beaumanoir," in *Mélanges Fitting* (2 vols, Paris, 1908), vol. 2, 538–9; Pierre Petot, "Le droit commun en France selon les coutumiers," *Revue Historique de droit français et étranger*, 38 (1960): 412–29.

56 Modern sensitivity about this term, and worries about the spread of Anglo-American legal dominance, can be seen, for instance, in the preliminary provision of the Quebec Civil Code. This bilingual text states, in the French language version, that the code constitutes "le droit commun" of Quebec. However, in order to avoid saying in the English language that the text is "common law," and the Anglo-American legal baggage culture it carries, the drafters chose instead to use the Latin term "ius commune." The tug-of-war in interpreting the nature of the term *droit commun* in thirteenth-century French texts probably springs from a similar source, the traditional alignment of "common law" with Anglo-American legal culture, and of the *ius commune* with continental European legal culture.

57 See above, n. 12.

58 Castaldo, "Pouvoir royal, droit savant et droit commun coutumier," p. 173ff. Focusing on rebutting Krynen and Giordanengo's arguments, Castaldo ends up writing a mini-treatise on "common law" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

He goes through the arguments presented for Roman law undoes them one by one. He notes that the mentions of "common law" in the thirteenth century *coutumiers* are often opposed to privileges and can, furthermore, indeed be linked to general customs. Since much of the debate on "common law" has focused on Philippe de Beaumanoir's use of the term, he examines his *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* in detail, noting that though this author was clearly inspired by learned law in his writing, each reference to the expression *droit commun* concern issues of customary law (such as roads). He also examines the records of Parliament (mostly in Latin for this period) that refer to *ius commune*, and argues that neither explicitly nor implicitly do they refer to Roman law.

59 This makes the English Common Law an interesting parallel for comparison, rather than an exception to continental legal developments.

60 "… que je li face un escrit selonc les us et les costumes de Vermandois *et d'autres corz laies*," Pierre de Fontaines, § I.2 [emphasis added].

61 "… les coustumes du païs et de *toutes* cours laies," ibid., p. 4, n. 2 [emphasis added].

62 "… les costumes de *toutes* cors laies," ibid. [emphasis added].

63 Marnier, "Introduction," *Le conseil de Pierre de Fontaines*, p. xxxvii.

64 Pierre de Fontaines, p. 103, n. 10.

65 "Et coustume de païs esprouvée et usages de cort laie s'i acorde" ["And the tested custom of the area and the practice of the secular court are in agreement"]—it is quite clear that the *coustume de païs esprouvée* and the *usages de cort laie* do not constitute a repetition for emphasis but refer to different things, otherwise, there would be no need to state whether they are in agreement, *Etablissements*, § II.34.

66 Ibid., § II.26.

67 "… *estable selonc l'usage d'Orlenois*" ["… established according to the usage of the Orléanais"], ibid.

68 "… l'usage de Paris et d'Olliens," ibid., vol. II, p. 419, n. 42; "l'usage de la curt laie," ibid.

69 These are manuscripts A, B, C, D, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V; ibid.

70 I would like to note that this analysis would barely be possible if Paul Viollet had not produced such a masterful critical edition with the most detailed and helpful of notes, explaining the minutia of variation between the manuscripts in detail. Modern historians owe him great thanks.

71 *Etablissements*, § II.21.

72 These are manuscripts N, G, F, I; Viollet, vol. 2, p. 408, n. 33.

73 Manuscripts T and V give no geographic attribution, J states it is "selcon l'usage de cort laie," and all the others have "selonc l'usage de divers païs," ibid.

74 The main text of his critical edition makes it a regional custom from Orléans ("selonc l'usage d'Orlenois"), *Etablissements*, § II.33, which it true for some manuscripts. But many other manuscripts (C D E P Q R S T J V) clearly indicate that this rule is used in diverse regions ("selonc l'usage de divers païs"), Viollet, vol. 2, p. 450, n. 46.

75 "… selonc l'usage d'Orlenois, en cort laie," *Etablissements*, § II.4. On the other hand, there are many references to lay court. A few examples are: "accostumé en cort laie," ibid., § I.3; "l'usage de la cort laie," ibid., § I.85; "Tele est la costume en cort laie que," ibid., § I.96, "selonc l'usage de la cort laie," ibid., § I.136, § II.5, § II.7, § II.28, and so on.

76 See for instance, Philippe de Beaumanoir, § II.92, § VII.246, § VII.248, § VII.257, § XI.357, § XXXI.946, § XXXIX.1211.

77 For instance, ibid. § II.91–2, § VI.221, § VII.248, § XI.357.

78 “Mes quant il pledent li uns a l’autre en court de crestienté, il ne convient ja que nous en parlons pour ce que nous n’entendons a parler fors que des coustumes de la court laie” [“But when they plead against each other in an ecclesiastical court —we should not speak of that since we intend to speak only of the customs of secular courts”], ibid., § XXIX.1211.

79 Ibid., § XI.

80 Ibid., § II.340.

81 “… dit on que l’en ne barroie qu’une fois en court laie,” ibid., § VII.248. This is said because while in church courts you can make your arguments and then reserve the right to make more arguments, but in secular court you cannot make such a reservation and so cannot make additional arguments at a later time; ibid.

82 “… car borse à vilain si est partimoines, selonc l’usage de la cort laie,” *Etablissements*, § I.136.

83 “Encor use on en Champaigne que se uns hons aseure un autre en cort de Roy ou Prince ou d’autre signour …” *Ancien coutumier de Champagne*, § XXX. This clause explains a rule on warranty that applies in the any court—be it that of the king, prince, or another lord.

84 “… selonc la coustume de France et especiaument de la court de Chastelet de Paris,” *Le livre des constitutions demenées el Chastelet de Paris*, ed. Charles Mortet, in *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Ile-de-Paris*, 10 (1883), p. 44.

85 “Ci commence li livres, qui enseigne comment l’en doit proposer à parler devant tous juges, et especiaument en cort laie,” *Demenées el Chastelet de Paris*, Prologue. Also the text later refers rules applicable “before all the judges in the lay courts” [“*par devant tous les juges de la court laie*”], ibid., 50.

86 “… par l’usaige de court laie,” *Coutumier d’Artois*, II.9; “Je te di generaument que par l’usage de court laie,” ibid., § III.1. And, “… par la coustume d’Artois et d’autres lieus,” ibid., V.1; “… si conme il est de coustume en Artois et ailleurs,” ibid., § LIII.12.

87 “La ou li criesme sont fait, doivent li malfaiteur iestre jugiet par general coustume de court laie, s’il est pris en present meffait,” ibid., § XI.10.

88 Gilissen, *La coutume*, p. 86; Van Dievoet, *Les coutumiers, les styles, les formulaires*, p. 13; Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice*, p. 28.

89 For more on “territory,” see Fabrice Ripoll and Vincent Veschambre, “Le territoire des géographes: quelques points de repères sur les usages contemporains,” in *Les territoires du médiéviste*, pp. 271–91.

90 Elisabeth Zadora-Rio cited in Michel Lauwers, “*Territorium non facere diocesim* … Conflits, limites et représentation territoriale du diocèse, V^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles,” in Florian Mazel (ed.), *L’espace du diocèse. Genèse d’un territoire dans l’Occident médiéval (Ve–XIIIe siècle)* (Rennes, 2008), p. 50.

91 Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, pp. 161–7.

PART III
Cartography and Imagined Geographies

Chapter 8
The Image of France in the Beatus Map of Saint-Sever*

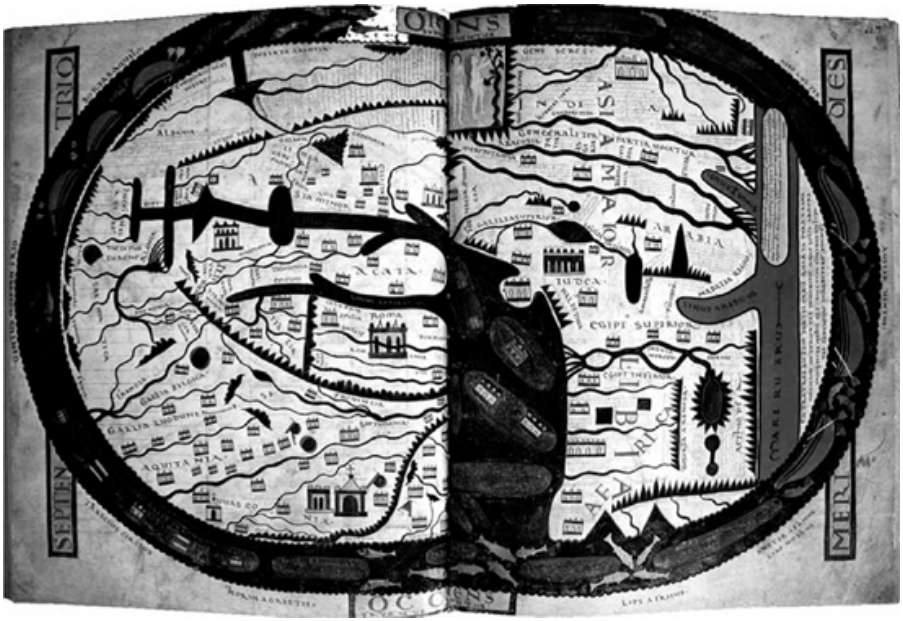
Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez

This chapter focuses on the *mappamundi* in folios 45°v°–45°r° of the Beatus codex of Saint-Sever (see Map 8.1), preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (ms. lat. 8878).[1] This manuscript is one of the many illustrated codices copied in the Middle Ages from the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana (776–84), and therefore its map is one of the many Beatus *mappaemundi*.[2] However, it is a unique example within this cartographical corpus as it moves away from the Hispanic models and reveals a French identity.

The Beatus *Mappaemundi*

Of the 28 illustrated Beatus manuscripts preserved,[3] 14 of them include a *mappamundi*.[4] The purpose of the image of this world is explicit in the text: it is intended to illustrate the *missio apostolorum*, that is, the mission of the apostles to evangelize all the nations of the world in fulfillment of Christ's command. In the text of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* that precedes the map (Prologue Book II, 3), each of the apostles is assigned a place to evangelize. It reads as follows:

> These twelve are the disciples of Christ, the preachers of the faith and teachers of the peoples, who, although they are all one, nonetheless each of them accepted his own lot to go and preach in the world, Peter in Rome, Andrew in Achaia, Thomas in India, James the Greater in Spain, John in Asia, Matthew in Macedonia, Philip in Gallia, Bartholomew in Lycaonia, Simon in Egypt, Mathias in Judea, and James the Lesser in Jerusalem. But Paul did not receive his own lot with the other apostles, for he was chosen as the leader and preacher for all peoples.[5]



Map 8.1 Map of the Beatus of Saint-Sever (third quarter of the eleventh century) (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat 8878, fols 45bisv–45terr)

The text continues describing the apostles and their mission, and ends with a phrase that introduces the map: “subiecta formula picturarum demonstrat,” which means “the following arrangement of images shows.” Therefore, the image of the world in the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* is—at least in origin—intended to show the places evangelized by the apostles.[6]

All the Beatus maps occupy two consecutive folios, verso and recto facing each other. Like many medieval *mappaemundi* they are orientated with the East, that is, Asia, on top, to give preeminence to Terrestrial Paradise. Europe and Africa are in the lower parts of the maps, separated by the Mediterranean Sea, and the world is surrounded by the circumfluent ocean. The most striking characteristic of the Beatus maps, which distinguishes them from most other medieval *mappaemundi*, is the presence in the south of a “fourth part of the world” separated from the Ecumene, for example in the Saint-Sever map by the Red Sea, which is painted in the color of its name.

The Beatus *mappaemundi* form a quite coherent group of maps within medieval cartography and they can be organized in three different families according to their similarities. Konrad Miller was the first one to study this cartographical group in a systematic way, and Gonzalo Menéndez-Pidal continued and consolidated this organization.[7] Of the three families, the *mappamundi* of Saint-Sever

belongs to Family I, the least consistent group, together with the *mappaemundi* of El Burgo de Osma (1086), of Navarre (late twelfth century), and of Lorvão (1189), of which just the recto folio remains. In comparison with the other two Beatus cartographical families (Families IIa and IIb), Family I is characterized by a richer toponomy and a more complex geographical representation, which includes numerous mountains, rivers, and so on. Despite the similarities among these four maps, there are other elements that occur only in the maps of El Burgo de Osma, Navarre and Lorvão, but not in Saint-Sever.[8] For example, the former three maps represent the Terrestrial Paradise with the image of the four paradisiacal rivers, while Saint-Sever instead shows Adam and Eve committing sin; these three maps also allude (textually in Lorvão and graphically in the other two) to the sciapods in the fourth part of the world, monsters that raise their large foot to protect themselves from the heat of the sun; and El Burgo de Osma and Lorvão include representations of the heads of the apostles. Thus, Saint-Sever is the most eccentric of the Beatus maps of its own family.

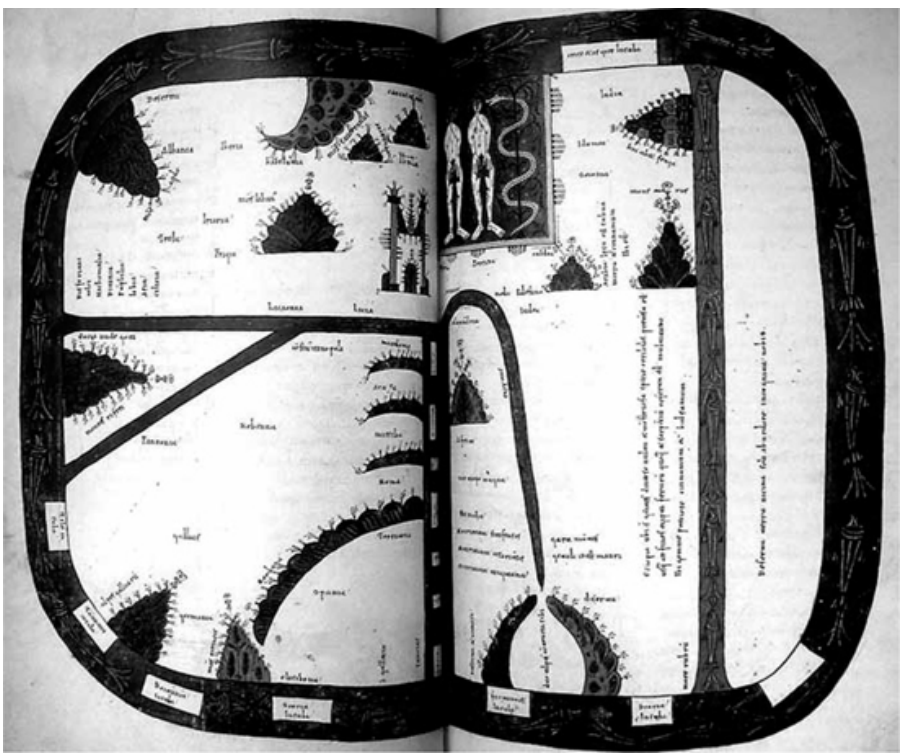
France in a French Beatus *Mappamundi*

The differences between the images in the Saint-Sever manuscript and those in the other Beatus of Family I can be explained by the fact that the former was probably copied from two codices of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana, one which belonged to Family I and the other to Family II.[9] Moreover, unlike the original and most of all the other Beatus manuscripts, the codex of Saint-Sever was not made in Spain, but in a French scriptorium, that of the abbey of Saint-Sever-sur-l'Adour in Gascony in the third quarter of the eleventh century. We know the name of one of the illuminators who worked on this manuscript, as it appears in fol. 6r°, *Stephanus Garsia Placidus*, and the name of the person to whom it was dedicated is in fol. 1r°, *Gregorius Abba Nobilis*, identified with Grégoire de Montaner who was abbot of Saint-Sever from 1028 to 1072.

It was probably its French origin that determined the prominence given to France in the Saint-Sever *mappamundi*. The space that the French territory comprises in this map is close to a quarter of the whole surface of the world. In order to fully appreciate the emphasis given to this territory it is important to look at France in another Beatus map. For example, that of Silos (1091–1109) (see Map 8.2), of similar chronology to Saint-Sever, which was made in the monastery of San Sebastian (later Santo Domingo) of Silos (Burgos, Spain). In the map of Silos, France occupies only a small portion of Europe. It is

separated from Spain by the Pyrenees, and the only two places indicated in French territory are Gallias, Philip's place of evangelization, and Narbonne. The protagonism that France holds in the French Beatus stands out by comparison to the image of that country in this and other Hispanic Beatus maps.

France in the Saint-Sever *mappamundi* occupies most of the territory of Europe, while the little space remaining is taken up by Northern Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain (see Map 8.3).[10] It is surrounded by the River Rhine (*Flumen Rhenus*), the Alps (*Alpes*), the Pyrenees Mountains (*Pyrenei montes*), and the circumfluent ocean. Ten rivers are represented in the French territory, with emphasis on those that are natural boundaries between provinces. From north to south, these are the already mentioned River Rhine, the River Mosa (*Mosa flumen*), the Loire (*Flumen Liger*), the Garonne (*Flumen Garunna*), the Adour (*Flumen Adurris, qui alio nominee alirris* [?] *dicitur*), and two affluents for the Gave d'Oloron (*Gaver*) and the Nive (*Flumen*). In the east are the Rhone (*Flumen Rodanus*) and the Saône (*Araris*). An unidentified river which must be the Isère is shown flowing into the Mediterranean Sea. Between these rivers, the names of the provinces appear in capital letters: *FRANCIA*, that is, the region of the Francs, *GALLIA BELGICA, GALLIA LUGDUNENSE, AQUITANIA, WASCONIA*, that is Gascony, *SEPTIMANIA*, and *PROVINCIA*, that is, Provence.



Map 8.2 Map of the Beatus of Silos (1091–1109) (London, British Library, Add. MS 11695, fols 39v–40r)

Map 8.3 France in the map of the Saint-Sever (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat 8878, fols 45bisv–45terr)

Although the question of the political administration of France in the Middle Ages is not clear because of the complicated distinctions between lands personally held by the king (named "domaine royal") and lands held in fief by another lord, by the time the Saint-Sever manuscript was made, the great majority of the French territory was part of the Duchy of Gascony, the Duchy of Aquitaine, the Duchy of Brittany, the Duchy of Normandy, the County of Champagne, the Duchy of Burgundy, and other territories.[11] However, many of these names do not appear on the map of Saint-Sever; instead, most of the toponyms are of classical origin, they only belong to the history of France in Antiquity, and therefore they were anachronistic in the eleventh century.[12] For example, *Gallia Belgica* and *Gallia Lugdunensis* are clear references to the French territory under the Roman Empire, and go back in time to the Emperor Augustus's division of Gaul in the year 27. In this regard we can quote Patrick Gautier-Dalché when he says that "the authors were just copying the geographers of Antiquity, and fed with book knowledge, they turned to a past irremediably gone."[13] This dependence on ancient toponyms is not exclusive of the Saint-Sever map but a characteristic of medieval *mappaemundi* since geography in the Middle Ages was built on classical geographical knowledge. Ancient toponyms which appear in geographical texts such as the *Naturalis historia* of Pliny (23–79) and the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of Solinus (third century) were transferred to the Middle Ages through the many manuscript copies made of these works

and their influence on other texts, such as the *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* of Paulus Orosius (c. 380–c. 420) and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore (c. 562–636).[14]

Spread throughout France, there are 31 schematic symbols that represent cities. Among them, we can distinguish Lyon (*Lugdunmo*), Beauvais (*Belvagus*), Sens (*Senones*), Reims (*Remis*), Nantes (*Nanetes*), Angers (*Andegavis*), Tours (*Turonis*), Orléans (*Aurelianis*), Limoges (*Limouix*), Clermont (*Arvernis*), Bourges (*Bituricas*), Poitiers (*Pictauis*), Saintes (*Sancionas*), Angoulême (*Igolismo*), Périgueux (*Petrogorix*), Cahors (*Caturcis*), Rodez (*Rodinis*), Albi (*Albia*), Carcassonne (*Carcassonna*), Vienne (*Vienna*), Toulouse (*Tolosa*), Bordeaux (*Burdigala*), Bazas (*Basata*), Agen (*Agenia*), Auch (*Ausia*), Bayonne (*Laburdum*), Dax (*Aquis*), Lescar (*Lascar*), Tarbes (*Biggorra*), Narbonne (*Narbone*), and Arles (*Arelas*). It is interesting to note that all are archiepiscopal cities, which shows how ancient geography was merged with ecclesiastical history—and thus, with medieval—geography. The striking absence of Paris is due to the fact that it did not become an archbishopric until 1622.[15] Moreover, most of the cities in the Saint-Sever *mappamundi* are from southern France because the main ecclesiastical centers were established on Roman cities and these were more numerous in that region.[16] The emphasis placed on the south could also be explained by the preeminence that the artist gave to the region in which the manuscript was made.

Although most of the symbols of cities are illustrated in the same way, as the yellow facade of a building or a fortress wall, with two or three rounded gateways and crowned with triangles that may evoke cantilevers, as François de Dainville has shown, this map gives particular importance to three buildings closely connected with the place where the Saint-Sever Beatus was copied.[17] These are the church of Saint-Sever (*Ecclesia Sancti Severi*) in Gascony, a fortress represented next to it, and the church of Mimizan (*Santa Maria Mimisanensis*). Despite their relative small role within Christianity these two religious buildings rival in size and graphic emphasis with important cities such as Constantinople, Rome, and even Jerusalem. Constantinople is remarkable for its two-story facade, Rome for being represented with the Tiber crossing it, which alludes to the development of the city in both sides of the river, and Jerusalem is the only city on the map in blue. Although Saint-Sever and Mimizan are individual buildings, they are represented as being larger than most of the cities on the map; moreover, both are crowned by a cross, the main emblem of Christianity, to emphasize their importance in the eyes of the authors of the map, while the cross is absent from Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem.

The magnitude given to Saint-Sever derives from the fact that, as

we have already mentioned, this manuscript was made in the scriptorium of that abbey.[18] The church to the north, Mimizan, is a priory that was given to that abbey by Guillaume Sanche.[19] And the castle next to Saint-Sever can be identified with the feudal fortress of *Palestrion*, built in the ninth century over a Roman camp by the River Adour, nowadays Morlanne, beside which Guillaume Sanche, Count of Gascony, founded the monastery of Saint-Sever in the tenth century.[20] Although, as we said before, most of the toponyms derive from classical sources, the map was updated with names and images of contemporary medieval places, namely that of the medieval abbey and scriptorium.

The emphasis on the place of creation of a manuscript through its outstanding representation on a map can be seen in other examples, such as the so-called Beatus of Navarre. As was first suggested by François Avril, Jean-Pierre Aniel and Mireille Mentré, the manuscript may have been made in Astorga, in northwestern Spain, rather than in Navarre, because of the prominence of the representation of the former city with a circular structure, which can be recognized as a water mill, so typical of the Astorgan region.[21] The Hereford *mappamundi* (c. 1300) is also relevant here, because the outstanding depiction of Lincoln as a magnificent building which represents its cathedral, and what seems to be the "house-lined street" that still leads to it, has been used as proof to demonstrate that the map was drawn by someone who know Lincoln well, or made in this city or perhaps started here and finished in Hereford.[22]

Going back to the Saint-Sever *mappamundi*, scholars such as Wilhelm Neuss and Marcel Destombes have argued that this map was of all the Beatus *mappaemundi* the closest to the eighth-century archetype of the Beatus of Liébana.[23] However, as John Williams stated, it seems to be a thorough revision of the original.[24] To the arguments of this scholar we should also add the fact that the Saint-Sever *mappamundi* does not fulfill the original purpose of the map, which was to explain graphically the text of the *missio apostolorum* which precedes it, for it does not include all the toponyms of the geography of the apostles' evangelization mentioned textually. Saint-Sever omits Bartholomew's place of evangelization, which is Licaonia, and also has non-standard toponyms for other places of evangelization: instead of "Gallia" for Philip it has *Gallia Belgica* and *Gallia Lugdunense*; instead of "Spania" for James it has only *Galicia*; and instead of "Asia" for John it has *Asia Menor*. Moreover, the map of Saint-Sever does not include the heads of the apostles as in El Burgo de Osma and Lorvão, and as the original *mappamundi* of Beatus of Liébana probably did.[25]

Thus, the *mappamundi* of the Beatus of Saint-Sever is not only far

from Beatus of Liébana's original map but also from other Hispanic Beatus *mappaemundi*. The authors of Saint Sever probably used two Hispanic Beatus maps, from the Families I and II codices, but changed the image of the world to give preeminence to the French territory, and within it to the region where the manuscript was copied; moreover, in their illustration of the world they used a stylistic and iconographic language that can only be seen in other French or French-related medieval maps.

French Characteristics of the Map of Saint-Sever

Although some scholars have suggested a dependence of the manuscript of Saint-Sever on a Hispanic model, especially in relation with the Islamic or oriental character of some of its images, other illustrations in this manuscript are not only quite dissimilar from the rest of the Beatus codices, but their sources can be found in French Romanesque art.[26] A close comparison of the cartographical image that we address here with other Beatus *mappaemundi* confirms these differences and reassures, at least to some extent, the dependence of the Saint-Sever manuscript on French sources. A key detail that distinguishes this map from the other examples of the Beatus cartographical corpus is related to the representation of the cities. Their simplicity and schematism, triangular crowning and yellow color are not found in any other Beatus *mappamundi*, but can be seen in other French or French-related medieval maps, such as the map of Europe of the French Benedictine monk Lambert of Saint-Omer (c. 1112–15), in his autograph *Liber Floridus* (see Map 8.4).[27] In this map, the city of Rome which is the most important, graphically, is very similar to the image of the abbey of Saint-Sever in the Saint-Sever Beatus *mappamundi*.

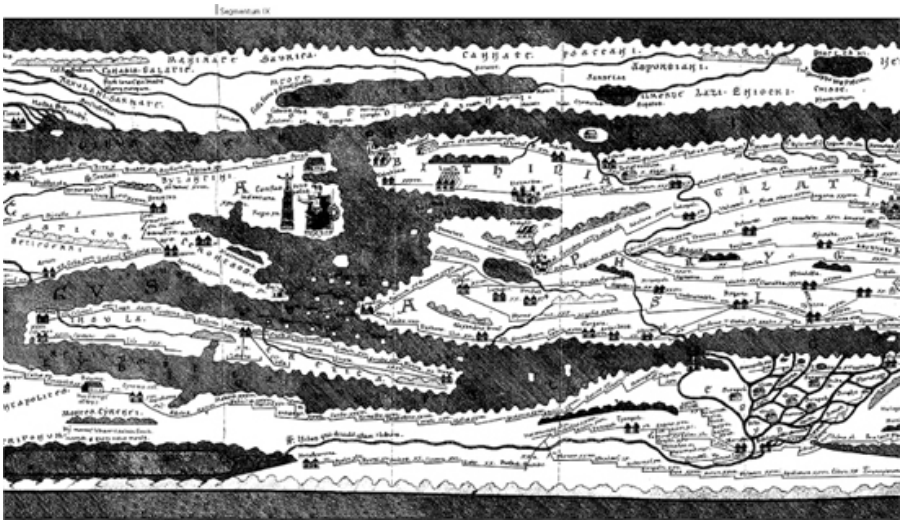
Another map whose cities resemble those in the Saint-Sever *mappamundi* is the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (or Peutinger Table), which, although made in the region that today comprises southwestern Germany and German-speaking Switzerland c. 1200, has been recognized as a copy of a Carolingian map (see Map 8.5).[28] Apart from certain graphical similarities in their depictions of cities, it is curious to note that the Saint-Sever and the Peutinger maps share a few legends and representations that in some cases surprisingly appear only on these two maps, and not on any other extant medieval map.[29] Among the images that they share, we can mention the lake of the River Nile surrounded by mountains (see Map 8.5); a text next to it explains the representation in the same way in both maps: "These mountains lie beneath a marsh similar to the Sea of Azov through

which the Nile flows."[30] Another example is the texts on the Tribe of Israel's exodus through the desert, which are again very similar in the two maps; that in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which is a little more extensive, reads: "Desert, where for forty years the children of Israel wandered about under the leadership of Moses."[31] Although it is difficult to prove any possible influence between these three maps, the Beatus *mappamundi* of Saint-Sever, the map of Europe of Lambert of Saint-Omer, and the Tabula Peutingeriana, the artistic and textual coincidences absent in most other medieval maps shed light on the cultural aspects that characterized French medieval cartography.[32]

Map 8.4 Map of Europe (c. 1112–15) of Lambert of Saint-Omer's autograph *Liber*

Floridus (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 241r)

With all this the map of Saint-Sever stands out among all other Beatus *mappaemundi* as a unique example within this cartographical corpus. In its execution it did not simply follow the Hispanic models but distanced itself from those to emphasize French territory, and thereby the map praised its local identity.[33] In conclusion, and quoting François de Dainville, we can assert that the Saint-Sever Beatus *mappamundi* is "the oldest representation of France designed in France and … a precious testimony of our religious and cultural history."[34]



Map 8.5 Fragment of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (c. 1200) (image from Konrad Miller's facsimile published at *Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt "Die Peutingersche Tafel"* (2 vols, Ravensburg, Germany, 1887–88). The original map is at Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Codex Vindobonensis 324))

1 The author would like to thank Chet van Duzer and Peter K. Klein for their help during the realization of this chapter. See also the recent study by Peter K. Klein and Otto Karl Werckmeister, *El Beato de Saint-Sever y su influencia en el Guernica de Picasso* (Madrid, 2013). For a facsimile of this manuscript see Beato de Liébana, *Comentario al Apocalipsis y al Libro de Daniel* (2 vols, Madrid, 1984).

2 For the illuminated manuscripts of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana, see John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus. A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse* (5 vols, London, 1994–2003).

3 We should add two more manuscripts to the 26 studied by John Williams (above, n. 2): the Beatus of Alcobaça (Portugal) (thirteenth century), Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Alcobaça 247); and the recently discovered Beatus of Geneva (eleventh century), Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève (ms. lat. 357).

4 Apart from Saint-Sever, the other Beatus manuscripts that include the *mappamundi* are Escalada (tenth century), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 644, fols 33v°–34r°; Valcavado (970), Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valladolid, MS 433, fols 36v°–37r°; Gerona (975), Gerona, Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7 (11), fols 54v°–55r°; Urgel (last quarter of the tenth century), Lérida, Museo Diocesá de La Seu d'Urgell, Num. Inv. 501, fols VIv°–VIIr°; Fernando I and Sancha (1047), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Vitr. 14–2, fols 63v°–64r°; El Burgo de Osma (1086), Soria, Cabildo de la Catedral de El Burgo de Osma, Cod. 1, fols 34v°–35r°; Silos (1091–1109), London, British Library, Add. MS 11695, fols 39v°–40r°; Turin (first quarter of the twelfth century), Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS I.II.1, fols 45v°–46r°; Manchester (c. 1175), Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS lat. 8, fols 43v°–44r°; Lorvão (1189), Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, MS CXIII/247, fol. 34bisv°; Navarre (late twelfth century), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1366, fols 24v°–25r°; Las Huelgas (1220), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 429, fols 31v°–32r°; San Andrés de Arroyo (first half of the thirteenth century), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2290, fols 13v°–14r°.

For approaches to the Beatus *mappaemundi*, see Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, *The Beatus Maps. The Revelation of the World in the Middle Ages* (Burgos, 2014), other references in this article, and also Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "El Mundo y el Tiempo en el Mapa del Beato de Osma," in *El Beato de Osma. Estudios* (Valencia, 1992), pp. 151–79; reed. in *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios. Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Serafín Moralejo Álvarez* (3 vols, Santiago de Compostela, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 237–60; Hermenegildo García-Aráez Ferrer, "Los mapamundis de los Beatos. Origen y características principales," *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 18 (1993–4): 49–76. We should also mention the *mappamundi* in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS F150 sup. fols 71v°–72r°, and the mural map in San Pedro de Rocas (Orense), as both follow the Beatus cartographical tradition. For these maps, see Luis Vázquez de Parga, "Un mapa desconocido de la serie de los 'Beatos'," in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio del los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana* (3 vols, Madrid, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 273–78; José Manuel García Iglesias, "El mapa de los Beatos en la pintura mural románica de San Pedro de Rocas (Orense)," *Archivos Leoneses*, 69/35 (1981): 73–87; Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "El mapa de la diáspora apostólica en San Pedro de Rocas: notas para su

interpretación y filiación en la tradición cartográfica de los *Beatos*," *Compostellanum*, 31 (1986): 315–40; and Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "*Peregrinatio in stabilitate*: la transformación de un mapa de los Beatos en herramienta de peregrinación espiritual," in Javier Martínez de Aguirre and Marta Poza Yagüe (eds), *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época. Anales de Historia del Arte* (2011), volumen extraordinario, 2: 317–34.

5 Author's translation of "Hi duodecim sunt Christi discipuli, praedicatores fidei et doctores gentium, qui cum omnes unum sunt, singuli tamen eorum ad praedicandum in mundo sortes proprias acceperunt, Petrus Roma, Andreas Acaia, Thomas India, Iacobus Spania, Iohannes Asia, Matthaeus Macedonia, Filippus Gallias, Bartolomeus Licaonia, Simon Zelotes Aegyptum, Iacobus frater Domini Iherusalem. Paulo autem cum ceteris apostolis nulla sors propria traditur, quia in omnibus gentibus magister et praedicator elegitur," in *Sancti Beati Presbyteri Hispani Liebanensis in Apocalipsin ac plurimas utriusque foederis paginas Commentaria, ex veteribus nonnulisque desideratis Patribus mille retro annis collecta, nunc primum edita*, ed. Enrique Flórez (Madrid, 1770), pp. 191–3. For other editions of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana, see *Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim*, ed. Henry A. Sanders (Rome, 1930); *Sancti Beati a Liébana Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, ed. Emilio Romero Pose (Rome, 1985); Beato de Liébana, *Obras completas y complementarias. Comentario al Apocalipsis, Himno 'O Dei Verbum,'* eds Joaquín González Echegaray, Alberto del Campo, and Leslie G. Freeman (Madrid, 2004); and the first critical edition, Roger Gryson and Marie-Claire de Bièvre (eds), *Beati Liebanensis Tractatus de Apocalypsin*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 107B and 107C (2 vols, Turnhout, 2012).

6 In relation with the purpose of the Beatus *mappaemundi* see also Jacques Fontaine, "Fuentes y tradiciones paleocristianas en el método espiritual de Beato," in *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana* (3 vols, Madrid, 1978–80), vol. 1, pp. 75–101; and Patrick Gautier-Dalché, "De la glose à la contemplation. Place et fonction de la carte dans les manuscrits du haut Moyen Âge," in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 16, 15–21 aprile 1993* (2 vols, Spoleto, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 693–764, esp. pp. 751–2; reed. in Patrick Gautier-Dalché, *Géographie et culture. La représentation de l'espace du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siécle* (Aldershot, 1997). For an evolution of the purpose of the Beatus *mappaemundi*, see Sáenz-López Pérez, "*Peregrinatio in stabilitate*: la transformación de un mapa de los Beatos en herramienta de peregrinación espiritual."

7 Konrad Miller, *Mappae mundi: die ältesten Weltkarten* (6 vols, Stuttgart, 1895–98), vol. 1, *Die Weltkarte des Beatus*; and Gonzalo Menéndez-Pidal, "Mozárabes y asturianos en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media en relación especial con la historia de los conocimientos geográficos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 134 (1954): 137–292. For a further and deeper study of the Beatus maps and their organization in families see Sáenz-López Pérez, *The Beatus Maps*, pp. 68–106.

8 For a facsimile of the manuscript of El Burgo de Osma, see Beato de Liébana, *Expositio im Apocalisim* (2 vols, Valencia, 1992). For a facsimile of the Navarre manuscript, see Beato de Liébana, *Beato de Liébana: Códice de Navarra* (2 vols, Madrid, 2007). For a facsimile of the Lorvão manuscript, see Beato de Liébana, *Beato de Liébana: Códice de San Mamede de Lorvão* (2 vols, Valencia, 2003).

9 See Otto Karl Werckmeister, "Pain and Death in the Beatus of Saint-Sever," *Studi medievali*, 14/2 (1973): 565–626, esp. pp. 612–14; Peter K. Klein, "La tradición pictórica de los Beatos," in *Actas del simposio para el estudio de los códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana* (3 vols, Madrid, 1978–80), vol. 2, pp. 93–5; and Noureddine Mezoughi, "Las pinturas que ilustran el texto del Apocalipsis

y su Comentario en el Beato de Saint-Sever," in Xavier Barral i Altet (ed.), *El 'Beato' de Saint-Sever ms. lat. 8878 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Madrid, 1984), pp. 295–314.

10 The names written on the map and here transcribed follow the readings made by Miller, *Die Weltkarte des Beatus*, pp. 44–5, and François de Dainville, "La Gallia dans la mappemonde de Saint-Sever," in *Actes du 93e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Tours, 1968* (Paris, 1970), pp. 394–6, as the text is now faded in the original map and in many cases illegible.

11 For an approach to the political organization of the French territory around the time when the Saint-Sever map was made, see the historical map in Reginald Francis Treharne (ed.), *Muir's Historical Atlas: Medieval and Modern* (London, 1964), p. 17.

12 For the presence of ancient geography and toponyms in the Beatus *mappaemundi* see Hermenegildo García-Aráez Ferrer, "Los Mapamundis de los Beatos (2ª parte). Nomenclator y conclusiones," *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 19–20 (1995–96): 97–128, esp. pp. 109–23.

13 "Leurs auteurs ne faisaient que recopier les géographes de l'Antiquité et, nourris de savoir livresque, tournés vers un passé irrémédiablement disparu," in Patrick Gautier-Dalché, "Tradition et renouvellement dans la representation de l'espace géographique au IXe siècle," in *Studi Medievali*, 24 (1983): 121; reprint. in *Géographie et culture. La représentation de l'espace du VIe au XIIe siécle*, article 4.

14 For the medieval copies of the Latin works see Birger Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (4 vols, Paris, 1982–2009); and Lilian Armstrong, "The Illustration of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*: Manuscripts before 1430," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983): 19–39. For the legacy of ancient geography in the Middle Ages see John Kirtland Wright, "The Contribution of the Ancient World," in *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), pp. 9–42; and George H.T. Kimble, "The Passing of Classical Geography," in *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pp. 1–18.

15 The author would like to thank Fanny Madeline for her comments on the archiepiscopal cities on the map of Saint-Sever.

16 See Laurent Schneider, "Aux marges méditerranéennes de la Gaule mérovingienne. Les cadres politiques et ecclésiastiques de l'ancienne Narbonnaise Ière entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge (Ve–Xe siècle)," in Florian Mazel (ed.), *L'espace du diocèse. Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (Ve–XIIIe siècles)* (Rennes, 2008), pp. 69–95.

17 De Dainville, "La Gallia dans la mappemonde de Saint-Sever," pp. 394–6.

18 François de Dainville understands *ecclesia* in *Ecclesia Sancti Severi* not as an allusion to the religious building, but following Du Cange, to a monastery with a church, according to the broader meaning given to this term in the eleventh century, in ibid., p. 395.

19 Ibid., p. 396. François de Dainville corrects Konrad Miller, who identified it with "Mont de Marsan," in Miller, *Die Weltkarte des Beatus*, p. 44.

20 De Dainville, "La Gallia dans la mappemonde de Saint-Sever," p. 395. François de Dainville corrects Konrad Miller, who read it as "(Tole)sirion," in Miller, *Die Weltkarte des Beatus*, p. 44.

21 François Avril, Jean-Pierre Aniel, and Mireille Mentré suggested an Astorgan origin for the Navarre Beatus manuscript judging from the prominence of the city on the map in *Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Manuscrits de la péninsule ibérique* (Paris, 1982), p. 66. For the interpretation of the water mill see Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "Sobre el origen astorgano del Beato navarro: una rueda de molino para la imagen de Astorga de su *mappamundi*," in José Miguel Garrido

Aranda, et al. (eds), *Actas del 6º Congreso Internacional de Molinología, 11 al 13 de octubre de 2007, Córdoba* (Cordoba, 2008), pp. 175–86.

22 Hereford, UK, Hereford Cathedral. For a reproduction of the Hereford map see Scott D. Westrem, *The Hereford Map* (Turnhout, 2001). Concerning the "house-lined street," see Paul D.A. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi. The Hereford World Map* (London and Toronto, 1996), p. 7. For the authorship and place of execution of the Hereford *mappamundi* see Malcom B. Parkes, "The Hereford Map. The Handwriting and Copying of the Text," and Nigel Morgan, "The Hereford Map. Art-Historical Aspects," in Paul D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London, 2006), pp. 107–17, and 119–35, respectively. Scott D. Westrem seems to question the assertion of the connection of the author of the Hereford *mappamundi* or the map itself with Lincoln, and addresses the reader to the representation of Edinburg (# 759) in *The Hereford Map*, p. 306.

23 Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (Münster in Westfalen, 1931), pp. 62–5 and 283; and Marcel Destombes, *Mappemondes, A.D. 1200–1500: catalogue préparé par la commission des cartes anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale* (Amsterdam, 1964), p. 80.

24 John Williams, "Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map," *Imago Mundi. The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 49 (1997): 26–8.

25 For the original map of Beatus of Liébana see Sáenz-López Pérez, *Los mapas de los Beatos: la revelación del mundo en la Edad Media*.

26 For those who suggest the Hispanic model, see for example, Mireille Mentré, "Le Beatus de Saint-Sever et l'enluminure limousine: la question des rapports stylistiques," in *Le Limousin études archéologiques. Actes du 102e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes. Section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, Limoges, 1977* (Paris, 1979), pp. 99–127; Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "Les arts somptuaires hispaniques aux environs de 1100," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 13 (1982): 285–310, esp. p. 295; and Joaquín Yarza Luaces, "La peregrinación a Santiago y la pintura y miniatura románicas," *Compostellanum*, 30 (1985): 371 and 374. For the Romanesque models, see Peter K. Klein, "Les sources non Hispaniques et la genèse iconographique du Beatus de Saint-Sever," in *Saint-Sever Millénaire de l'Abbaye, Colloque Internacional 25, 26 et 27 mai 1985* (Mont-de-Marsan, 1986), pp. 317–33.

27 Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 241r°. This manuscript has been digitalized in high resolution and it is available online at the website of the Universiteitsbibliotheek of Ghent <http://adore.ugent.be>. For the cartography of the *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer see Danielle Lecoq, "La Mappemonde du 'Liber Floridus' ou La Vision du Monde de Lambert de Saint-Omer," *Imago Mundi. The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 39 (1987): 9–49, esp. pp. 28–37; and Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Europa en la Cartografía Medieval (Perspectiva histórica)," *Mayurqa: revista del Departament de Ciències Històriques i Teoria de les Arts*, 10 (1973): 59–75, esp. pp. 67–73.

28 On the Peutinger table, see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindobonensis 324. Konrad Miller published a facsimile of the Tabula Peutingeriana in *Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt 'Die Peutingersche Tafel'* (2 vols, Ravensburg, 1887–88), which has been digitalized in high resolution and is available online at Ulrich Harsch's website "Bibliotheca Augustana" <http://www.hs-augsburg.de>. On the nature of the copy, see Benet Salway, "The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map," *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 57/2 (2005): 120. See also, Emily Albu, "Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map," *Imago Mundi. The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 57/2 (2005): 136–48.

29 For the comparison of the texts in the Tabula Peutingeriana and the Saint-Sever *mappamundi* see E. Schweder, "Über eine Weltkarte des achten Jahrhunderts," *Hermes*, 24/4 (1889): 587–604, esp. pp. 594–603.

30 There is just a slight difference in the orthography of the words meaning "these": in Saint-Sever the text reads "Hii montes subiacent paludi simili Meotide, per quem Nilus transit," and in the Peutinger Table, "Hi montes subiacent paludi simili Meotidi per quem Nilus transit." Chet Van Duzer discusses this similarity of the mountains surrounding the lake of the Nile in both maps in *Johann Schöner's Globe of 1515: Transcription and Study* (Philadelphia, 2010), p. 103.

31 "Desertum ubi quadraginta annis errauerunt filii Israel ducente Moyse, and slightly different, the Saint-Sever map says Desertum ubi filii Israel XL annis errauerunt."

32 For other studies on French maps, see Camille Serchuk, "Picturing France in the Fifteenth Century: The Map in Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS fr. 4991," *Imago Mundi. The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 58/2 (2006): 133–49; ibid., "*Ceste figure contient tout le royaulme de France*. Cartography and national identity in France at the end of the Hundred Years War," *Journal of Medieval History*, 33/3 (2007): 320–38; and ibid., "*Cartes et chroniques*: Mapping and History in Late Medieval France," in Richard J.A. Talbert and Richard Watson Unger (eds), *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 257–76.

33 Thomas Deswarte states that the Beatus map of El Burgo de Osma fell under the French influence of the order of Cluny, which is reflected in the cult of the saints, relics, and the construction of churches, in "Géographie sacrée ou géographie du sacré? Les mappemondes du *Commentaire* de Beatus aux X^{e} et XI^{e} siècles," in Stéphane Boissellier (ed.), *De l'espace aux territoires. La territorialité des processus sociaux et culturels au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 113–31, esp. pp. 127–31. While I share the idea that this map was updated on the historical moment when it was made, and therefore I do not deny a possible influence of Cluny, I believe that the heads of the apostles were also in the original map of Beatus of Liébana, and consequently they are more a Hispanic element than French, and that they originally expressed the *missio apostolorum* (and not the cult of relics of the saints). See Sáenz-López Pérez, *Los mapas de los Beatos: la revelación del mundo en la Edad Media*.

34 "La plus ancienne figuration de la France dessinée en France et … un précieux témoignage pour notre histoire religieuse et culturelle," in De Dainville, "La Gallia dans la mappemonde de Saint-Sever," p. 391.

Chapter 9
France in the Two Geographical Works of Al-Idrīsī (Sicily, Twelfth Century)

Jean-Charles Ducène
Translated from the French by Robert Bork

In attempting to understand how space has been conceived and represented at any given time, examining works of geography and cartography is an obvious approach. But in the Middle Ages, this approach becomes complex, because the work in question was conceived in a scientific and cultural tradition on the frontiers of the Latin intellectual world. Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muhammed Al-Idrīsī, known simply as Al-Idrīsī (1099–1165 or 1175), worked on behalf of King Roger II of Sicily (r. 1095–1154), while employing the methods and sources of Arab polygraph scholars. His geographical work is unparalleled in this period, and it is an ideal intermediary through which to determine how geographical space was apprehended and imagined in the twelfth century. Indeed, the two geographical works of Al-Idrīsī, the *Nuzhat al-muštāq* (or, "Book of Roger"), and *Uns al-muhaj* (or, "The Conviviality of Hearts"), consist of both text and maps. And while it is the text of the *Nuzhat al-muštāq* that is often mined for the geographical or historical information that it can reveal, one must keep in mind that the map was developed and executed first.

In this chapter, we will first examine the *Nuzhat al-muštāq*'s genesis, attempting to determine the extent to which it is original before going on to consider the principles that govern its treatment of space. Second, we will focus on the space of France and on the elements that structure it.

The life of Al-Idrīsī is virtually unknown.[1] Was he born in Ceuta, Morocco, as has been claimed without proof since Casiri in the late eighteenth century, or was he born in Sicily or perhaps in Calabria?[2] Evidence extracted from his works on pharmacopeia has allowed us to establish that he considered Spain—al Andalus—as his homeland.[3] He was in his prime in the middle of the twelfth century in Sicily under

Roger II and William I. The only certain date we have for him is given in the introduction to the *Nuzhat al-muštāq*: 1154, the date when Roger II titled the book *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī ʿḤtirāq al-āfāq* [lit., "The Approval of Him who has a Passion for Wandering around the World"], a title that Al-Idrīsī accepted.[4] From the same introduction, we also learn that 15 years had passed since the author started collecting information. It is certain that the writing took another decade or so. Caesar Dubler has shown that the section on Spain was written before late 1147 or early 1148.[5] Henry Bresc and Annliese Nef have drawn attention to Al-Idrīsī's recording of several events that can be dated to around the years 1157–58.[6] As for his personal observations in Europe, we can be sure only about Lisbon and Cordoba.[7] The only trip that we know he took outside of Spain and Sicily was to the south of Morocco, on which he reported in his works of geography and in his medicinal treatise.

His second geographical work, the *Uns al-muhaj wa-rawḍ al-furaj* [lit., "The Conviviality of Hearts and Gardens of Joy"], was evidently composed soon after his trip, although no elements in the work itself permit a more accurate date.[8] It is clear from the introduction that the author limited himself to road-based itineraries, which he reviewed and augmented, and that his goal was to write a book that would be light to carry and easy to copy. In its design and implementation, the *Uns al-muhaj* is comparable to the *Nuzhat al-muštāq*.

Although the *Nuzhat al-muštāq* has long been known, its genesis remains unclear. Also, the manner in which Al-Idrīsī presents the material in his introduction leaves the reader perplexed because it describes the project as primarily the work of Roger II, who in the face of difficulties relied on the Arab scholar.[9] According to the introduction, Al-Idrīsī intervened only as final editor, after the king had drawn his map and conceived his commentary. One imagines that in fact Al-Idrīsī was behind the design and execution of the work, at the instigation and with the support of the king. But why would Roger II have requested a universal geography, covering the entire known world at that time? If the work dealt strictly with the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, one would have imagined an inventory of an administrative sort. If its horizon was bounded to the Mediterranean, one would imagine a strategic treatise supporting political expansion. But as the aim was to describe the whole Ecumene, there can be no doubt that something even larger was at stake. This enterprise comes through clearly in the sovereign's desire to combine knowledge and power, since it is important for a rising power to integrate its information. After all, he who can contemplate the world can take his place within it. Let us consider two medieval examples of this inclination. Einhard tells us in his *Life of Charlemagne* that the emperor

had a silver table on which the world was carefully represented. In the same era, the caliph Al-Ma'mūn ordered the creation of a universal map. Roger II, in asking for a geographical study from Al-Idrīsī, was acting on these same principles.

The steps in Al-Idrīsī's process began with the reading of Arab geographical works, along with those of Ptolemy. In the latter case, one must postulate a revised Arabic translation of the Alexandrian geographer's works, similar or even identical to the *Ṣurat al-arḍ* by Al-Ḥwārizmī.[10] While the latter work seems to have no value in revealing the interior of Europe in the twelfth century, it describes the outlines of continents and especially the structure of their space, based on noteworthy geographical features such as rivers, mountains, and cities. Since this information is incomplete, the author also interviewed travelers and collected oral accounts (see below). Based on the collected information, he first drew a map on a board (*lawḥ*), which served as a model for craftsmen who made another in silver. A book was then written to comment on and to complete the information depicted in the map. This book is the *Nuzhat al-muštāq*. The *Uns al-muhaj* depends on the *Nuzhat al-muštāq* since it is organized the same way and uses the same sources, while being limited only to routes. Yet it also complements its predecessor, providing new details taken either from ancient written sources or from informants.

For the routes in Al-Idrīsī's texts, the author also drew upon a genre developed three centuries earlier, and which was related to an administrative geography that involved roads (*masālik*).[11] Authors who sought to amplify description through a better understanding of the relationship between people and places, as one sees with Ibn Ḥawqal, employed this genre. The route is an essential element of the informative text, but it is also a means of structuring space. When Al-Idrīsī began to describe the Muslim world, he inherited this stylistic and mnemonic tool, which is well represented elsewhere in his sources. The presence of such routes for the European part of his work reflects a heritage that came from the classical Arab geographical literature, on the one hand, and a European mode of spatial expression, on the other (see below).

The Principle of Spatial Organization

The two books are organized in the same manner.[12] After the introduction, they are divided into 70 chapters by a mode of division applied to the Ecumene, or all the inhabited world: namely seven longitudinal bands, and variable latitudes (the "climates" or *iqlīm*), which are subdivided into ten sections.[13] Each section corresponds to a

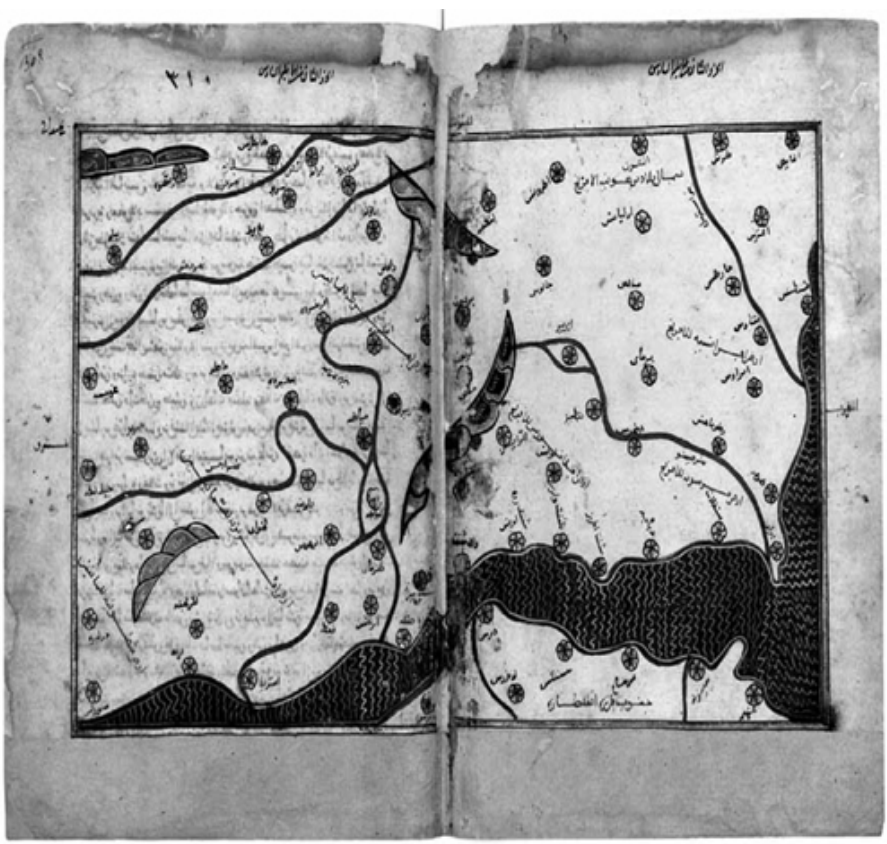
chapter of the book, and each chapter consists of a text and a map (see Table 9.1 and Maps 9.1–9.4). These maps are not to scale, and they are not meant to be assembled together, since the problem of projection has not been taken into account. One may imagine that they derive from the drawing on the board or Al-Idrīsī's silver map, which was divided and transposed onto paper. As mentioned earlier, the organization of these books is closely tied to the division of the Ecumene, which was based in turn on astronomical and mathematical principles.[14] The author gives the figure of 64° for the extent northward from the equator of the habitable part of the land, but he says nothing of its eastward expansion. It is reasonable to assume that here also he follows Al-Ḫwārizmī, who gave 180° of extension to the inhabited part of the globe from east to west. Each section thus theoretically subtends 18°.

Table 9.1 European space arranged according to Al-Idrīsī's climates and sections (Jean-Charles Ducène)

	1st section	2nd section	3rd section	4th section	5th section
7th climate	Ireland, Scotland	England	Norway, Denmark	Finland	Russia, Cumania
6th climate	Brittany	France, Germany	Bohemia, Hungary	Macedonia, Poland	Bulgaria
5th climate	Gascony, Galicia, southern France	Germany, Provence, northern Italy	Calabria, Dalmatia	Slavonia, Romania	Anatolia
4th climate	Andalus, Maghreb	The Sea	Sicily	Greece	Cyprus, Syria

On these maps, it is clear that the general contour of Europe dates back to Ptolemy, as revised and corrected by the Arab geographers of the tenth century.[15] But Al-Idrīsī also understood the precise cartography of Europe's Mediterranean coast. These improvements fade out further to the north. The Balkan Peninsula is clearly individualized and ends with the Peloponnese. Italy is still parallel to the Mediterranean, but "the boot" ends in Calabria and Apulia, each of which receives its toponym. Spain, which is rotated toward the northwest in a way that reduces its height in the Mediterranean and deepens the Bay of Biscay, takes on a triangular shape. The Mediterranean islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily are well represented, which is understandable when one considers the position of Roger II's domain. The Atlantic coast of Europe receives a new

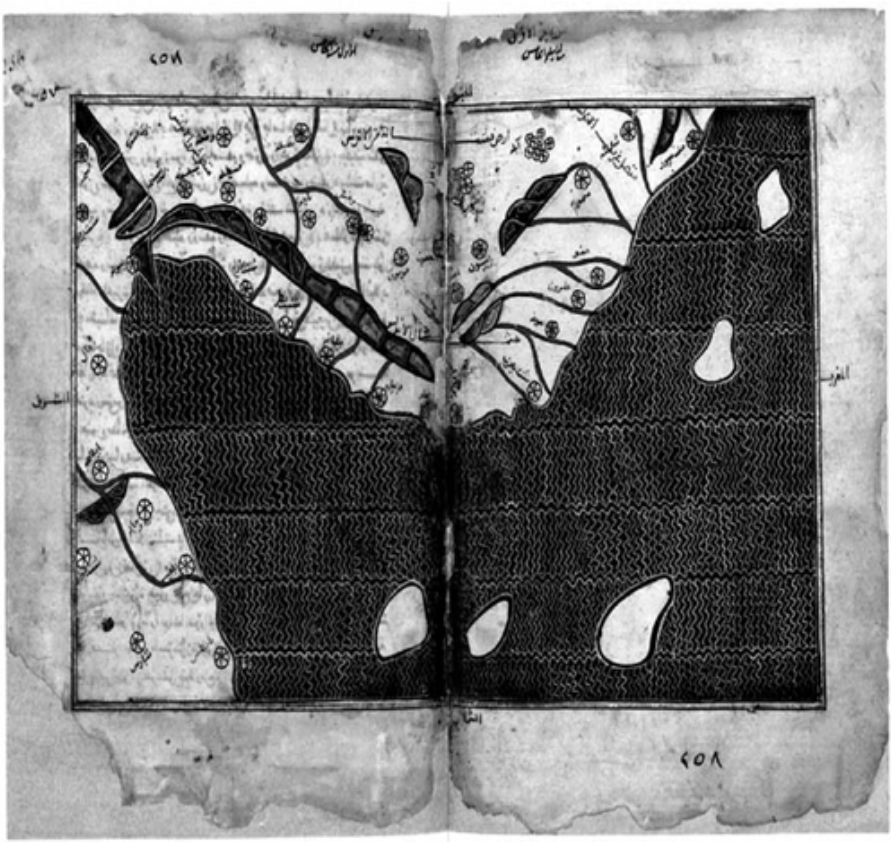
treatment: the Norman peninsula is exaggerated, but the Cotentin also appears. This disproportion is doubtless due to the nature of the geographical information that the Normans were able to share with Al-Idrīsī. Facing this region, there is England (*ǧazīrat Inqlitārra*), north of which is drawn a peninsula: Scotland (*S.qūsiyya*). Further north, two further islands are represented: Ireland, to the west of England, and what is probably Iceland to the north (*ǧazīrat rislānda*).[16] East of England, a peninsula is detached from the mainland; this is Denmark (*Dār.m.r.ša*). Finally, to the north of it lies a large island labeled Norway (*N.r.fāġa*). For these latitudes, Al-Idrīsī had no cartographic model on hand into which he could insert the newly collected topographic information, and, indeed, he had no geographical coordinate system at his disposal, which explains the imaginary and unrealistic forms of the Scandinavian islands. By comparison with Ptolemy and Al-Khwārizmī, however, northern Europe has a modern topography.[17]



Map 9.1 Map of Northern France after Al-Idrīsī, copied c. 1300 (Paris BNF 2221)

Map 9.2 Map of Britain after Al-Idrīsī, copied c. 1300 (Paris BNF 2221)

Map 9.3 Map of North Italy after Al-Idrīsī, copied c. 1300 (Paris BNF 2221)



Map 9.4 Map of North Spain after Al-Idrīsī, copied c. 1300 (Paris BNF 2221)

Within this space, the collected information was set into place. What were these oral sources? Firstly, the author himself, as per the introduction to the *Uns al-muhaj*. After that, the biographer Al-Ṣafadī claimed that King Roger II had sent delegations throughout Europe to bring back information.[18] They were sent to Germany, France, Provence, Brittany, Normandy, Aquileia in Tuscany, Lombardy, the Veneto, Hungary, and Cumania in the country of Kimaks. These delegations were composed of a draftsman and a scribe who were to draw and record the situation of the countries they visited. One may question the reality of such delegations because, first, no historical sources attest to them. Further, geographical knowledge of Europe in the middle of the twelfth century was still too rudimentary to provide concrete material. Urban geography was at that time nonexistent, and regional cartography was developing only slowly.[19] As for the itineraries, several medieval travelogues, *Itineraria*, show that such concepts were on the minds of travelers at that time, whether they were rulers, diplomats, merchants, or pilgrims, but no general guide had been compiled, as would later be the case in the Renaissance.[20] A

good example of the use of this material in the first half of the thirteenth century is given by Matthew Paris, who compiled several itineraries from accounts and written narratives of travelers.[21] One may imagine that Al-Idrīsī had access to this type of geographic material.

In addition, study of the *Nuzhat al-muštāq* for European territories shows that Al-Idrīsī also used documents from ecclesiastical sources and from the chancellery in Palermo. The spelling of most of the toponyms reflects the vernacular uses of the twelfth century and suggests primarily oral sources of information. These concern the great "highway" circuits, so we have little information on the secondary networks. The presence of man on these roads is marked by cities, initially perceived as places of exchange and foci for centrifugal forces in the region. Strangely, there are virtually no churches, although this was the era of multiple foundations. For Italy, the more one moves away from Sicily and Calabria, the less seems to be relevant, and the unevenness of the source information becomes apparent.[22] For Spain, Dubler has identified as informants a Galician or Portuguese navigator, a Muslim from the border area of Christianity around Coimbra, a Castilian who knew the *Codex Calixtinus*, a Gascon native of Bayonne, and a mule driver from the center of Spain.[23] According to Beeston, the information concerning England was due to a French informant who knew mostly its coasts.[24]

For Central Europe, the study of place names indicates that the informants were Hungarian, German, and Slavic.[25] As for Scandinavia, the interest in certain objects or in the occurrences of certain cities led Tuulio to propose as informants a North German, Scandinavian merchants, or even one of their sailors.[26] For France in particular, Charles Pellat imagined mainly Norman informants, in view of the importance given to this region, but also probably a Breton because of the name of a wind.[27] In general, it must be said that the coastline of Normandy and Brittany is particularly rich in toponyms, since the situation of the Breton ports is specified (on a heading at the bottom of a bay, and so on) as if the informants in this instance were mainly sailors from those regions. One must also recognize the underlying presence of European pilgrimages, of which one finds a number of traces: that of Santiago de Compostela, of course, without which one could not understand the reference to the town of Saint-Jean (Pied-de-Port), or a reference to a distance of 230 miles between Le Puy (-en-Velay) and Toulouse.[28] This orientation is also marked in the *Uns al-muhaj*, where, for example, the steps are detailed on the road from Narbonne to Santiago.[29] For Britanny, one should mention Mont-Saint-Michel, whose abbey developed in the twelfth century. In the *Uns al-muhaj*, there appears the route Wissant–Rome, testifying to

consideration of the pilgrimage route to Rome, especially from England.[30] One may also mention an event that could bring information about France and, in particular, about the royal domain, to Sicily; namely, the visit that Louis VII and his followers made to the island in 1149 as they returned from the crusade.

As a practical matter, it is unclear how Al-Idrīsī went about organizing all the data that was collected. We can assume that he initially relied on the continental contours given by the map before gradually filling in the interior. Once a location was defined, its neighbors were situated relative to it, and so on. The greater the distance from the coast, the less precise the locations, which is why the cities of Central Europe are placed in a purely relative but regular manner. Indeed, if our cartographer was afraid of empty spaces, he was also influenced by iconographic principles that made him consider symmetry and balance. In the case at hand, we have no autographic manuscript, but only later copies in which it is impossible to discern the degree of initiative taken by the painter with respect to his model. This also explains the fantastic positioning of the rivers on the map, since here Al-Idrīsī had virtually no information, except the knowledge that a particular city bordered a particular river. Meanwhile, knowing that a river flowed through a given part of the territory, the author could simply place the cities of the region on the river in question. Although at times inconsistent with geographical reality, this approach gave a consistency to the information. This manner of work explains why—departing a bit from the territory of greatest interest in this chapter—his map and text show Liège and Ghent on a river that he calls “the Rhine,” instead of on the Meuse and the Scheldt. As with the collected information, the distances are recorded, and the distance of one city compared to another is also known. In this regard, one may note that the distances are usually underestimated and given in two ways, either in miles (see below) or in travel days. It is likely that the miles are misleading here, because twelfth-century Europe had not yet returned to the ancient practice of road surveying, nor of cadastral boundaries, not to mention the variety of measurement units employed there (locations, miles, stadia, and so on), so Al-Idrīsī probably converted the “travel days” into miles.[31]

In examining the maps that come with the Paris manuscript 2221 of the Bibliothèque nationale from c. 1300 (see Map 9.1), one notes a definitive separation of land and sea. On land, three elements are seen: mountains, waterways, and towns. The latter are simply represented as rosettes, no matter whether they were ports, cities, or regional capitals.[32] Roads are not represented, but in the absence of an autograph manuscript, it is difficult to say whether this was a choice

of Al-Idrīsī or whether their absence is due to the wishes of the painters who later copied the map.[33]

The Space of France

The present territory of France is covered in part by the two first sections of climate V and in large part by the two first sections of climate VI.[34]

In the text of the *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, Al-Idrīsī subdivided the territory of each section into regions or provinces (*iqlīm*), districts (*ʿimāla*), or lands (*arḍ*), with which a series of cities are associated. These were then listed and briefly described from the perspective of commercial advantage or geographic location. Next came the routes that connect them, which were listed with distances expressed in days or in miles, and whose value actually varies by region. Michele Amari had thought in terms of the Roman mile (1,481 m), but this is only valid for Sicily.[35] For the south of France, we found an average of 1.82 km per mile. The author made the roads radiate around a locality, then moved to another town and resumed his list. The fact that the roads turn circularly around cities may have been the choice of the author, who was trying to be systematic in the presentation of his documentation, but one can also relate this choice to the real disposition of roads that radiate around a town, which is typical of the medieval network.[36] In the *Uns al-muhaj*, this vision of the territory as a succession of regions—defined by one name only—themselves dotted with towns connected by roads, became ubiquitous to the exclusion of any description. This polarization of space follows the author's explicit choice to write a travel guide devoid of unnecessary elements.

Political divisions or borders are virtually absent, but the Burgundy of the Franks and that of the Alemanni both appear, where these refer respectively to the kingdoms of Burgundy and of Arles under the imperial suzerainty of Conrad III and Frederick Barbarossa. Al-Idrīsī never used the juridico-political entities of Western feudalism because these concepts were quite foreign to a medieval Muslim author, whose lexicon was also unable to express their realities. The name of the region alone sufficed to give it a geographical existence. On the map, as in the text, there are no sharply defined boundaries as such—the geographic entities confine each other, and they follow one another in each cardinal direction.[37] Surprisingly, essentially no events from recent history were set within this frame, even though the members of the Palermo court were actively involved in European politics, so that they had detailed knowledge of both the events and their actors. Bresc

and Nef have noticed that the county of Ponthieu, which was effectively a "window onto the sea" for the king of France, had not escaped the attention of Al-Idrīsī. One may add that Wissant was already described in the *Nuzhat al-muštāq* as the port through which access could be gained to England, which is confirmed in the *Uns al-muhaj* through two new routes, one from Narbonne, by way of Orléans, Amiens, Saint-Riquier, and Boulogne; the other from Rome (see above) via Arras and Laon.[38]

The term "France" (*Ifransiya*), when it appears, refers to the Île-de-France. To the south, it borders Frankish Burgundy (the Duchy of Burgundy), and to west Normandy, that is to say, the Duchy of Normandy.[39] The town of Pontoise, moreover, was noted as the boundary between Normandy and France, understood as the royal domain, a role that the city played in the first half of the twelfth century, under Louis VI.[40] To the east, Hainaut, a county whose ties to Empire were strengthened under Frederick Barbarossa, stands as a neighbor.[41] Clearly the cities were the primary objects of the author's attention here, just as in the section of his book that deals with Muslim areas. Their description follows similar criteria for the most part: size, water resources, prosperity, defense, and agricultural production, but beyond these generalities, details are scarce. The author speaks here and there of imported and exported products, which suggests that some of his informants had to be traders, but the fairs are not mentioned since only markets (*sūq*, pl. *aswāq*) are indicated, as for example in Lyon.[42] The natural setting is also ignored —but who among the medieval Arab geographers speaks of this? There is nothing about swamps or forests, with the exception of rivers and mountain ranges (see below). This leaves the roads, and except for their length and their estimated cardinal direction, we have little information on their nature, their topography, their sinuosity, or any geographical features that could make them difficult. Similarly, the human hazards of the road, such as robbery or tolls, are ignored. While Al-Idrīsī mentions several rivers, he says nothing about bridges, organized fords, or places with good potential for crossing. Thus, his text develops in the following manner:

> From Châlons to Reims, a considerable town, thriving on the banks of a river, surrounded by vineyards, orchards, crops, especially grain and cattle, eighty miles to the east. She is one of the major cities that border on the east with the Hainaut, which is compact. From the city of Chartres to that of Sées, which is part of France, is also eighty miles. Thirty miles west of the latter city is Le Mans, which is in Touraine. On the south, the land of France borders with Frankish Burgundy, whose cities are Mâcon, Nevers, Dijon, Langres, Troyes, and Autun. [From Mâcon] to Nevers, a famous and beautiful city, very prosperous, whose territory is vast, and a place of real hustle and bustle, to the north, it is seventy miles. From

Nevers to Lyon, in Provence, southwest, it is one hundred thirty miles.[43]

This approach allowed him to list 74 localities in modern France and 19 regions, while noting briefly some features of the economic lives of the cities considered. Was this prism due to the specific and limited knowledge of his informants, or to the particular interests of the author? When we compare this part with those dealing with Africa and the Middle East, one realizes that Al-Idrīsī worked in the same way; these were the subjects that occupy the author's mind.

What located a region or city was its immediate neighbors, specifically those adjacent in the four cardinal directions. The extent of this separation was expressed through the intermediary of the itineraries. The map became the visual complement necessary to locate these cities and to develop the space between cities, which in the text, involves only a notion of numerical distance (see Table 9.2).

Table 9.2 Al-Idrīsī's distances between cities in the region of Provence (Jean-Charles Ducène)

Localities	Distances following Al-Idrīsī in miles	Actual distance km/miles (rounded up)
Toulouse – Narbonne	70	200/124
Toulouse – Carcassonne	60	150/93
Toulouse – Béziers	80	230/142
Toulouse – Le Puy	230	370/230
Toulouse – Morlaàs	120	170/106
Toulouse – Auch	60	77/48
Morlaàs – Saint Jean-Pied-de-Port	80	140/87
Morlaàs – Agen	50	130/81
Morlaàs – Auch	80	90/56
Auch – Agen	60	73/45
Agen – Cahors	60	90/56
Cahors – Périgueux	80	100/62

The text also lacks formal notation that would allow the reader to mentally visualize a particular region, which also suggests that the map was its visual complement. We have, for example, the following rare description for Brittany:

> The sea surrounds the top of Brittany, so that the continent describes a sort of bag whose entrance is narrow and whose middle is broad.[44]

The proportion given to the coastline of Normandy and Brittany on the map must also reflect the abundance of toponyms.

By associating the territory of modern France with Al-Idrīsī's text, one finds the following regions with associated cities, expressed in Table 9.3.

On the map (see Map 9.1), the draftsman noted the following as regional names: Gascony, Provence, the country of Cahors, Poitou, Berry, Frankish Burgundy, Alemannic Burgundy, Touraine, Anjou, Frankish France, Brittany, Normandy, Frankish Flanders, and Lorraine. Auvergne also appears in central France, while in the text it was not localized.

The correspondence is approximate, and Al-Idrīsī was not always consistent, since a city may belong to two different regions. It is ultimately a juxtaposition of regional entities with fuzzy boundaries. This approximation is probably due not only to the ignorance on legal matters of his informants, but also to the author's own lack of expertise in that field, since no region, whether in or outside the Islamic world, is ever really delimited except by its surroundings. What makes the unity of each entity was never explicitly stated, and the terms of description vary between geographical givens and administrative constructs. The order of enumeration followed a rough "mathematical" sequence from west to east. Only a single paragraph gives some political unity to these regions:

Table 9.3 Al-Idrīsī's text distances and their correspondence to modern France (Jean-Charles Ducène)

Climate 5 Section 1	Climate 5 Section 2
Biscay including Carcassonne, Comminges, Saint-Jean (Pied de Port), Bayonne, Auch, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Morlaàs	Provence: Narbonne, Montpellier, Saint-Gilles, Béziers, Avignon, Valence, Vienne, Lyon
Poitou: Poitiers, Beauvoir, Saint-Jean (d'Angely), La Rochelle and Angers	Region of Le Puy and Clermont
Cahorsin: Angouleme, Blaye, Cahors and Agen	Frankish Burgundy: Bassens, Nevers, Mâcon, Dijon, Autun, Troyes, Langres Alemannic Burgundy: Geneva, Lausanne, Aost, Besançon, Verdun Berry: Montluçon, Bourges Anjou: Limoges, but also Tours The land of Nevers The land of Perigueux The land of Tours: Angers The land of Poitiers or Poitou: Saintes, St. Jean (d'Angely) and Beauvoir The Île-de-France (*iqlīm ifransiya*): Orléans, Châlons, Chartres, Meaux, Bernay Lorraine: Metz, Liège
Climate 6 Section 1	**Climate 6 Section 2**
Brittany: Nantes, Rennes, Saint-Michel, Dol, Dinan, Saint-Malo, Saint-Mathieu, Lannion, Quimper, Quimperlé, Vannes, Redon and Batz	Normandy: Bayeux, Evreux, Pontoise, Rouen, Dieppe, Caen, Coutances, Pontoise
Land of Sées	Flanders (?) Beauvais, Paris, Pontoise, Gisors, Arras, Wissant, Saint-Valery, Rue and le Tréport

> Flanders, France, Frankish Burgundy, Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Berry, Auvergne, Poitou, Gascony and Provence—thus thirteen provinces—are under authority of the king of the Franks.

This assertion follows after one designating the 15 provinces obedient to the king of the Germans.[45]

As for geographical features, one finds rivers and major mountain ranges. The rivers mentioned by name are the Rhône (*Rūdanū*), Seine (*Ṣaynū*), and Rhine (*Rīnū*), but others may simply be identified by the city through which they pass, such as the river of Ouistreham, the Orne, or that of Pontoise, the Oise.[46] The courses of these rivers are never described from the source to the mouth, but they are instead implied by the description of the towns established on their shores. These rivers are also sometimes waterways that facilitate communication between two cities, as in the case of the Orne. It should be noted that on the map, only four named rivers appear: the Seine, the Rhône, the Orne, and the Rhine.[47] Five other rivers are drawn, and one can recognize the delta of the Garonne. How did the draftsman transfer these rivers onto the map? Taking the example of the Seine, one can notice that on the map the river passes through Paris, Pontoise, Rouen, and Gisors before flowing into the sea. In the text, meanwhile, it is expressly stated that it flows through Paris, Pontoise, and Gisors, which is false in the latter two cases, while in the case of Rouen, Al-Idrīsī simply mentioned the city's location on a river, without naming it. One gets the impression that both in the design of the map and in the writing process the author imposed some consistency on the information he had received before finally simplifying it.

As for the mountains, Al-Idrīsī first mentioned the Pyrenées, designated in accord with the traditional practice of Arab geographers in Andalusia as *al-burtāt*, or "the portal" (from the Latin "portus," whose original meaning was "passage").[48] He at one point cited the name of the Pyrenées transcribed from a Romance language or Latin as *al-Birīnyū*. He also called these mountains the Temple of Venus, or Port-Vendres.[49] He claimed that one can pass these mountains in four places.[50] First, near Barcelona, is the "portal" of Ǧāqa, which one cannot identify with Jaca because of the distance from Barcelona, but more likely with Junquera. The second pass is the "portal" of Aš.b.ra or the Somport pass, north of Jaca. Then comes the "portal" of Cize, which corresponds to the pass of Roncesvalles that opens into the valley of Cize (Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port) and finally the "portal" of Bayonne, which is of medieval origin. As for the Alps, they were called *M[u]nt Ǧūn* for "Mont Jovis" and the text states that they are crossed by four passes (*bāb*, pl. *abwāb*), but only the one at Bassens that leads to Ivrea, Lombardy, is mentioned.[51] On the map, one sees the Pyrenees clearly; they are not labeled explicitly, but one does find the four passes just cited.[52] For the Alps, the map clearly shows four crossings: the pass of the Rhone south of Vienne, a pass at the level of Lyon, a cut at the level of Mâcon to Ivrea (the Little St Bernard), and a pass to the north of Mâcon, at the level of Aosta (probably the Grand

St Bernard). It is hard to say that the axes of communication stand out because it seems instead that the whole territory is covered with a road network.

Conclusion

The space of France was initially conceived by Al-Idrīsī within the limits of the continent as Ptolemy had imagined it, but extended where the author's information would allow it. Al-Idrīsī was also indebted to the tradition of Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries who passed on the idea of the itinerary as a way to articulate and structure space. Stopping points and cities became the centers that are occasionally noted with descriptions that punctuate the list of steps. As the information gathered by the author intersects with this grid of perception and exposition, he only needed to enrich it with as much material as possible to cover the geographical area of France, which is drawn as a juxtaposition of provinces. These have hardly any character other than their names; they are dotted with cities, which are seen as gateways connected by roads. This, then, was a space of circulation. The space only developed under the feet of voyagers, or along the coast, on a few sea routes. And there are also various natural barriers to such movements that were mentioned, such as the mountains and rivers. These are few in number, because the natural environment did not interest the author; the journey determined the extension of this space, as the attention to the mountain passes show. And it was also the duration of the trip or its transposition into units of length that indicated the distance from one locality to another. For their orientation relative to each other, the cardinal directions were used.

However, there is never a noticeable tension between center and periphery, or between inside and outside. Space is simply polarized around multiple centers. But can we speak in our case of the polarization of space in the feudal sense that Alain Guerreau has described?[53] This question must be answered in the negative because it would commit an error of perspective. Indeed, Al-Idrīsī treated the whole Ecumene in the same way, from sub-Saharan Africa to China, not just European territories where feudalism was practiced. In addition, we saw that this author employed conceptual and expressive tools developed long before him, and that he applied them everywhere, in proportion to the information gathered, so that his whole work gives us the perception of a polarized space. The *Uns al-muhāj* emphasizes this feeling still further, since it is just a roadway guide.

Such a space is hard to visualize, since it is limited to multiple rudimentary triangulations. This lack of a systematic mathematical framework or coordinate systems suggests that on the map, the cities were arranged according to the general directions given by the text. This is even more true for geographical features. Finally, although rudimentary, incomplete, and sometimes conjectural, the work of Al-Idrīsī remains remarkable, both for the data used and for the visual result: a French space at once highly urbanized and crossed by a network of roads.

1 Giovanni Oman, “Al-Idrīsī,” in Bernard Lewis, Victor-Louis Ménage, Charles Pellat, and Joseph Schacht (eds), *Encyclopédie de l’Islam* (new edn, 6 vols, Leyden, 1990), vol. 3, pp. 1058–61; Giovanni Oman, “Osservazioni sulle notizie biografiche comunemente diffuse sullo scrittore arabe al-Šarīf al-Idrīsī (VI–XII sec.),” *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (1970): 209–38.

2 Allaoua Amara and Annliese Nef, “Al-Idrīsī et les Ḥammudides de Sicile: nouvelle données biographiques sur l’auteur du Livre de Roger,” *Arabica*, 48 (2001): 121–7.

3 Jean-Charles Ducène, *L’Afrique dans le Uns al-muhaǧ wa-rawḍ al-furaǧ d’al-Idrīsī* (Leuven, 2010), pp. xx–xxi.

4 Roberto Rubinacci, “La data della geografia di al-Idrīsī,” *Studi Magribini*, 3 (1970): 73–7.

5 César Dubler, “Los caminos a Compostela en la obra de Idrīsī,” *Al-Andalus*, 14 (1949): 90.

6 Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie de l’Occident*, eds Henri Bresc and Annliese Nef (Paris, 1999), pp. 18 and 40.

7 Oman, “Osservazioni sulle notizie biografiche,” p. 221; Ducène, *L’Afrique*, pp. xli–xliii.

8 The two manuscripts of the work are accessible in facsimile thanks to the publication of Fuat Sezgin: Al-Idrīsī, *The Entertainment of Hearts and Meadows of Contemplation*, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1984). Only partial editions are available at the present time: Al-Idrīsī, *Los caminos de al-Andalus en el siglo XII*, ed. Jassim Abid Mizal (Madrid, 1989); Jean-Charles Ducène, “Poland and the Central Europe in the *Uns al-muhadj* by al-Idrīsī,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 61/2 (2009): 5–30. We are working on an edition of the section concerning France and northern Spain.

9 Tadeusz Lewicki, “A propos de la genèse du *Nuzhat al-mushtâq fi’khtirâq al-âfâq* d’al-Idrīsī,” *Studi Magrebini*, 1 (1966): 41–55; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie de l’Occident*, pp. 13–53.

10 On the question of relations to the map drawn at the time by al-Ma’mūn, la *ṣurat al-arḍ* d’al-Ḫwārizmī and al-Idrīsī, see Fuat Sezgin, *Mathematical Geography and Cartography in Islam and their Continuation in the Occident, Historical Presentation* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2005), pp. 78–90; Hans von Mžik, “Idrīsī un Ptolemäus,” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 15 (1912), cols 403–6.

11 André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman* (Paris, 1967), p. 85.

12 Sayyid Maqbul Ahmad, “Cartography of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī,” in John Brian Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography. Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 156–74.

13 Edward S. Kennedy, “Geographical latitudes in al-Idrīsī’s world map,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 8 (1986): 265–8.

14 Ibid.

15 Konrad Miller, *Mappae arabicae* (6 vols, Stuttgart, 1926–31), vol. 2 (1927), pp. 103–56; Jean-Charles Ducène, “L’Europe dans la cartographie arabe médiévale,” *Belgeo. Revue belge de géographie*, 3–4 (2008): 251–67; For Al-Khwārizmī, see Carlo Alphonso Nallino, “Al-Khuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo,” in Carlo A. Nallino and Maria Nallino (eds), *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti* (6 vols, Rome, 1939–48), vol. 5, *Astrologia, astronomia, geografica* (Rome, 1944), pp. 519–27; Wilhelm Hoenerbach, “Deutschland und seine Nachbarländer nach der großen Geographie des Idrîsî, gest. 1162 (Sektionen V–2 und VI–2),” *Bonner Orientalistische Studien*, 84 (1938): 15–16.

16 Alfred Felix Landon Beeston, “Idrisi’s account of the British Isles,” *Bulletin of*

the School of the Oriental and African Studies, 13 (1950): 265–81, especially p. 277. Despite the phonetic analogy, it is possible that it is the north of Scotland that is being mentioned here.

17 Reinhard Wieber, *Nordwesteuropa nach der arabischen Bearbeitung der Ptolemäischen Geographie von Muhammad B. Mūsā al-Ḫwārizmī* (Walldorf, 1974), pp. 137–41.

18 Ducène, *L'Afrique*, p. xli.

19 Paul D.A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," in John Brian Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 466–500; Evelyn Edson and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views of the Cosmos* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 99–106.

20 Francis Peabody Magoun, "An English Pilgrim-Diary of the Year 990," *Mediaeval Studies*, 2 (1940): 231–52; Françoise Micheau, "Les itinéraires maritimes et continentaux des pèlerins vers Jérusalem," in *Occident et Orient au X^e siècle. Actes du IX^e congrès de la SHMESP Dijon, 2–4 juin 1978*, ed. Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (Paris, 1979), pp. 79–93; George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy. The Middle Ages* (Rome, 1954).

21 Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 321–76.

22 Michele Amari and Celestino Schiaparelli, "L'Italia descritta nel 'Libro del Re Ruggero' compilato da Edrisi," *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 2/8 (1876–77): x–xii. The authors have noted that the cardinal points are often inverted, which leads them to write, "queste son tutte prove che il compilatore, oltre alle notizie scritte, aveva alla mano carte orientate in senso diverso" ["this is proof that the compiler, besides the written information, had to hand maps oriented in a different direction"].

23 Dubler, "Los caminos a Compostela," p. 121.

24 Beeston, "Idrisi's account of the British Isles," p. 280.

25 Ducène, "Poland and the Central Europe," p. 15.

26 Oiva Johannes Tallgren-Tuulio and Aarne M. Tallgren, "Idrīsī: La Finlande et les autres pays baltiques orientaux (Géographie, VII, 4)," *Studia Orientalia*, 3 (1930): 90–94; Oiva Johannes Tuulio, *Du nouveau sur Idrīsī* (Helsinki, 1936), pp. 190–214.

27 Charles Pellat, "La France dans la Géographie d'al-Idrīsī," *Studi Magribini*, 10 (1978): 35 and 58. Jeremy Johns has shown with more certainty that the names of the months in question surely come from a Sicilian variant of Greek, Jeremy Johns, "Arabic 'June' (brṭuyūn) and 'July' (istiriyūn) in Norman Sicily," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 64 (2001): 98–100.

28 Charles Pellat, "Note sur les toponymes français dans le livre de Roger," in Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Rion (eds), *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), p. 799.

29 Al-Idrīsī, *The Entertainment of Hearts*, pp. 221–2 and p. 225.

30 Al-Idrīsī, *The Entertainment of Hearts*, p. 231; Magoun, "An English Pilgrim-Diary of the Year 990," pp. 231–52. The pilgrim debarked two kilometers north of Wissant before continuing on via Reims, Laon, and Arras, as in the text by Al-Idrīsī.

31 Thomas Szabó, "Routes de pèlerinage, routes commerciales et itinéraires en Italie centrale," in *Voyages et voyageurs au Moyen Âge. Actes du XXVI^e congrès de la SHMEPS*, ed. Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public (Paris, 1996), pp. 131–43.

32 This iconography is linked with workshop reproduction practices and with the style of painters; the Sofia manuscript, which was copied in the Ottoman era, shows cities as little crenellated towers.

33 In the particular case of the Paris manuscript, we have an instance in which "geographical material" was lost in the course of the copying process. In fact, only four of the 68 maps give geographical coordinates, although it is probable that all of them should have. As for the roads, in the case of the *Uns al-muhaj*, we have a map that shows them for the Sahara. See Ducène, *L'Afrique*, p. xlvi.

34 Pellat, "La France dans la Géographie d'al-Idrīsī," 33–72; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie de l'Occident*, pp. 361–80, pp. 417–28. On these maps, see Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, vol. 2, pp. 133–8 and 6, tables 41–2, 51–2.

35 Ducène, *L'Afrique*, p. 87.

36 Georges Livet, *Histoire des routes et des transports en Europe. Des chemins de Saint-Jacques à l'âge des diligences* (Strasbourg, 2003), p. 85.

37 Ralph W. Brauer, *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography* (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 6.

38 Al-Idrīsī, *The Entertainment of Hearts*, pp. 225, 231; Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 869; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, p. 427.

39 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, pp. 861–6; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, pp. 421–5.

40 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 866; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, p. 425.

41 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 863; Al-Idrīsī *La première géographie*, p. 423; Jean-Charles Ducène, "Le Hainaut chez les érudits orientaux," in Marie-Cécile Bruwier (ed.), *Mémoires d'Orient, du Hainaut à Héliopolis* (Mariemont, 2010), pp. 412–26.

42 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 740; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, p. 365.

43 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 864; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, p. 423.

44 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 856; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, p. 418.

45 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 874; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, pp. 430–31.

46 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, pp. 865–6; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, pp. 424–5.

47 Miller, *Mappae arabicae*, vol. 2, pp. 133–6.

48 Ambrosio Huici Miranda, "Al-Burt," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (new edn, 6 vols, Leyden, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 1377–8.

49 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 734; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, p. 361; Louis Deroy and Marianne Mulon, *Dictionnaire de noms de Lieux* (Paris, 1992), p. 388.

50 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, p. 730; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, p. 357; Dubler, "Los caminos a Compostela," pp. 95–6, in this listing Dubler has noted an analogy with the codex Calixtinus.

51 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, pp. 742–3; Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie*, pp. 366–7. The *Nuzhat* gives *Mont* Ǧūn, which Hoenerbach has read as *Munt* Ǧūz, followed by Pellat; both translate it as Mont Joux. The graphic form from the *Uns al-muha*ǧ is Munt Ǧuwī, which is still close to the Roman form. Pellat, "Notes sur les toponymes," 805. The old forms of Monjeu and its variants also describe the Grand Saint Bernard. André Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste françaises* (2 vols in 5, Paris, 1986) vol. 1/2, p. 1263.

52 Miller, *Mappae arabicae*, vol. 2, pp. 133–6; Pellat, "La France dans la géographie d'al-Idrīsī," 49.

53 Alain Guerreau, "Quelques caractéristiques de l'espace féodal européen," in Neithard Bulst, Robert Descimon, and Alain Guerreau (eds), *L'Etat ou le roi. Les fondements de la modernité monarchique en France (XIVe–XVIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1996), pp. 85–101.

Chapter 10
From Gaul to the Kingdom of France: Representations of French Space in the Geographical Texts of the Middle Ages (Twelfth–Fifteenth Centuries)

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Translated from the French by Katherine Bork

In an article published in 1961, Robert Fawtier asked how French kings at the beginning of the fourteenth century perceived their kingdom, and he concluded that, in the absence of maps, they had no useful geographic knowledge.[1] Today such a judgment needs to be nuanced, on at least two points: firstly, the assumption that only modern geographic maps are exact enough to be useful for efficient governance, and, secondly, that without such maps, that is, without precise geographic representation, it would hardly be possible to govern efficiently. It is certainly not in terms of deficiency that one must study the usage (or non-usage) of cartography; it is rather a question of examining geographic space as a form of cultural representation. Instead of examining the degree of exactitude or realism in the image of the French kingdom in the Middle Ages, it is more useful to explore the reasons that led certain medieval scholars to describe geographic space and the means that were available to do so.

Before moving further, it is necessary to consider the issue of nomenclature. Of course today's France is not the French kingdom of the Middle Ages, and the term "Francia" does not in every time period refer to the kingdom, which was still in the process of creating a territory and an identity at the end of the Middle Ages.[2] Depending upon the time period, the author, and the genre, the use of "Francia" or "Gallia" has implications that I do not propose to study in detail here. Yet, at the end of the Middle Ages, two tendencies can be observed: the term "Gallia" is very often used in texts of descriptive

geography, while in historic texts “Francia” is more often employed. It is therefore hardly possible to trace a simple straight line which would see “Gallia” erased in favor of “Francia,” also because Humanism gave a new impetus to “Gallia” as suitable for designating both antique Gaul as well as new “Gallia,” even in the historic texts.

In this chapter, I have sought to analyze, in a limited number of texts, mostly of French origin, the means of representing the geographic space in which is found the kingdom of France by means of three approaches: the tradition of scholarly geography in which descriptions of Gaul consist of defining its borders and internal divisions, the geographic image of this space in lay culture as expressed primarily in *Le Livre de la description des pays* by Gilles le Bouvier, Herald of Berry, and cartographic representations, primarily from the fifteenth century.

Describing Gaul: Dividing its Space

The scholar who describes space must obey several conventions that act directly on the modes of description. One of these is especially important for the subject at hand. First of all, it is necessary to divide geographic space into provinces, delimited principally by their limits based on the work of geographers in antiquity. Scholars sought in effect to think about space as something permanent, which required separating it from contemporary political realities. It was therefore not a question of characterizing political spaces (which does not, however, imply in any way that these men were unaware of or disinterested in contemporary political realities).[3] It was Gaul, the province of the Roman *orbis terrarum*, that was the object of these “geographers’” attention. Two essential questions arise in respect to these efforts: where does Gaul begin, and how was it divided?

The description of the world opening the *History Against the Pagans* by Orosius (c. 375–after 418) constitutes one of the foundations of medieval geographic knowledge. Gaul was described succinctly here as a juxtaposition of four provinces defined by borders: Belgium, the Lyonnais, the Narbonnais, and Aquitaine.[4] Isidore of Seville’s (c. 560–636) Gaul was barely more detailed. After a review of Gaul’s natural borders (the Alps, the Atlantic, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine)—which Orosius did not do—and having defined its beginning (Belgium) and end (Aquitaine), Isidore praises the entire province, which was gifted with its agriculture, and rich in rivers and springs. Then he devotes several paragraphs to outlining the origin of certain of these names: Belgium (from the name of Belgis, a town in Gaul), Cisalpine (beyond the Alps), Transalpine (on this side of the Alps), Rhetia, which borders

the Rhine, and Aquitaine, which gets its name from the oblique path of the Loire.[5] The organization of Isidore of Seville's text leads his reader to wonder about the internal divisions of Gaul, notably the place of Rhetia in the enumeration. He does not mention the Narbonnais, and he juxtaposes names that correspond to historic realities from different time periods—which is explained by the principle of etymology. But if the reader compares Isidore of Seville's description with that of Orosius, the questions multiply. While for medieval scholars the overall perimeter of Gaul was relatively clear, based on its natural borders (Rhine, ocean, Pyrenees, Mediterranean), its internal division was open for discussion: how many provinces? What spatial realities did the terms Aquitaine, Belgium, Narbonnais, and Lyonnais indicate? Let us now look at how medieval scholars did —or did not—attempt to clarify the situation.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Hugh of Fleury in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (1109–10) draws a quick sketch of a tripartite Gaul, divided into Belgium, Aquitaine, and the Lyonnais, recalling that these are ancient denominations.[6] This division is that of Orosius, from whom he takes a part of his text, and to which he adds a list of cities and rivers.[7] His demarcation of Aquitaine is surprising: he juxtaposes a first description, in which it extends from the Garonne to the Pyrenees, to the description taken from Isidore of Seville, which gives the Loire as a border.[8] After having described the Three Gauls according to the divisions of the Ancients, Hugh of Fleury recalls its occupation by the Franks, and sketches another geography based on Carolingian politics by defining the contours of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, to which he adds Aquitaine, which, he notes, has kept its name.[9] Then he deals with the Narbonnais, situated outside of the *regnum francorum* of its time, because it belonged to the Gauls, following Orosius's text.[10] He thus juxtaposes two ways of dividing the space of Gaul, one based upon the divisions of ancient geography, the other attentive to the changes brought by the installation of the Franks. If he does not completely merge these descriptions of space, he nevertheless puts a territorial reality beneath the geographical terms.

At the dawn of the fourteenth century, John of Saint-Victor proceeded in a similar manner, but he had many more sources, which obviously caused him problems. He composes within his historical treatise, the still unpublished *Memoriale historiarum*, a real geographic treatise.[11] He deals at length with the geography of Gaul, using a method based on compilation. This passage is divided into two parts: the first describes the borders of Gaul and its provinces; while the second contains detailed description of the latter. In the first part, he begins by citing Isidore of Seville, based on whom he gives the natural

borders of Gaul (the Alps, the Ocean, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine). Then he adds that there are multiple divisions within Gaul ("Gallia multiplex reperitur diuisio"). He therefore invokes Isidore once again (to remind one of the distinction between Transalpine Gaul and Cisalpine Gaul), then Hugh of Pisa, Honorius Augustodunensis, Pomponius Mela, and finally Orosius (Gaul, Belgium, Lyonnais, Aquitaine, and Narbonnais), whose scheme he retains as the most operative division ("perfectior"), which he intends to follow. One thinks he has come to the end of reading about the division of Gaul, but he comes back at length to the question of borders, examining in detail another series of texts (Hugh of Fleury, Hugh of Saint-Victor, Pomponius Mela). In the second part, he details each of the three regions that comprise Gaul; each one is subdivided with the help of a "provincial," that is, a list of ecclesiastical provinces. This second part is characterized above all by long expositions identifying the origin of peoples (the Trojan origin of the Franks, and the origin of the Normans).[12]

The description by John of Saint-Victor is not simplistic, and his readers might sense a certain perplexity. John obviously had a hard time establishing a satisfactory division because of the diversity of his sources. He struggled to synthesize texts that are sometimes contradictory, from different time periods, using as his basis the description of an ancient space, which he adapts occasionally to the reality of his time by using terms that are more or less contemporary (Gascony, Provence) or from recent sources. The second part of his account is based in part on a provincial map, apparently dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, which brings both an onomastic renewal and an additional difficulty: incorporating the administrative geography of the Church into the ancient heritage of the division of provinces.

From this long description of the Gauls, there are three characteristics that one should retain: the importance ascribed to borders; the difficulty of choosing a single model with, consequently, a text which engenders confusion rather than bringing clarification; and, the remarkable importance of the geography of origins, which gives a very ideological cast and attests to an awareness of the historicity of space. The description of Gaul or the Gauls is implicitly the space in which the history of the Franks unfolds; recourse to contemporary sources and several brief notes (for example, the reference to the count of Poitou, whose submission to the king of France John recalls) also shows a geopolitical perception of the kingdom of the Franks, the principal subject of *Memoriale historiarum*.[13] However the aporia at which John of Saint-Victor arrives also signifies a crisis of borders, which from the fourteenth

century onward made it more and more difficult to undertake descriptive geographies; henceforth the authors would be perpetually torn between the traditional epistemology of medieval geography (to describe regions while establishing their natural borders) and the imperative to take into account political domination.

Pierre d'Ailly explained this problem very well in his *Imago mundi* written in 1410, a vast synthesis of geographic knowledge, one of whose goals is precisely to seek a description of the fixed world, in the passage devoted to Gaul.[14] After having cited passages about Gaul from Isidore and then Orosius, which allow him to establish the divisions, he explains:

> It is necessary to know that Orosius and Isidore and several other ancient cosmographers hardly spoke of the kingdom of France, established in Gaul, which is now the greatest of all the kingdoms of Europe, nor of Paris, its principal city, which is like the light of the world in the study of human and divine letters. Nor do they say anything about the eminent cities of this kingdom or about the lands which adjoin it, such as Lotharingia, Liegois, Hainaut, Cambresis, Brabant, Flanders, and others where one can find cities and fortresses full of people and riches. I think that that derives from the fact that the ancient authors do not deal with kingdoms and sovereigns that change often, but described only the regional divisions that were unchanging. It is also possible that these parts were not as populous and famous as they are today.[15]

The cardinal of Cambrai expresses effectively what might appear as a criticism of geographical methods, whereas it is more likely an explanation of the absence of a description of the kingdom in geographical texts. On the contrary, the *Imago mundi* does not in any way effect a rupture in the epistemology of geography. For Pierre d'Ailly, as for his predecessors, the description of the *orbis terrarum* has as its primary function to divide it into provinces delimited by natural frontiers without taking into account political sovereignties with fluctuating limits. No more in the *Imago mundi* than in its sources is the description of the kingdom the main question of the day. The insertion of this remark, if it attests to a realization of the historicity of space, does not denounce a lack; it expresses, however, attachment and patriotism in regard to the kingdom of France situated in the Gauls.

In a general way, the scholars of the fifteenth century continued to apply themselves, on the basis of ancient texts, to determine the different parts of Gaul, but in a constant process of confrontation between ancient and modern space that required both making an identification between ancient and modern toponyms and trying to make a modern localization of the names and the ancient people encountered in the sources. In his index of proper names in Caesar's

Commentaries, the Italian jurist Raimondo Marliani, professor of law at the university of Louvain and counselor to the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, proposes localizations of the toponyms and the ethnonyms encountered in Caesar's text, which allow the modern reader to situate them in modern space.[16] At the end of his index, he indicates the difficulties engendered by the changes in names, a veritable commonplace of humanistic geography.[17] It is not yet, however, a completely historical geography; the space of Antiquity is still a living reference for the scholars, and since the moderns had really not composed geographical treatises capable of replacing those of the Ancients, the geographies of Pliny, Strabo, or Ptolemy remained the texts through which knowledge of space would pass.

The French humanist Robert Gaguin composed a description of Gaul at the beginning of his *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* (1495 for the first edition) which he inserted after invoking the succession of the first Merovingians.[18] His *Galliarum diuisio* begins with these words: "Est enim Gallia triplex, Belgica, Celtica, Aquitanica" ["Gaul is tripartite, Belgica, Celtica, and Aquitania"].[19] These are the tripartite divisions of Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, which he knows well, having translated it. While many of the city names are given in their ancient Latin forms, he inserts into the ancient division references to more recent political names such as "Ducatus gheldriae," (duchy of Gheldre) names of significant towns ("Bovina," or Bouvines, for example) and describes Holland in the part dedicated to Belgian Gaul.[20] He designates Paris as "Lutetia Parisiorum quae Christiani orbis celeberrima academia est" ["Lutetia of the Parisians where the most famous academy of the Christian world is"].[21] In fact he describes the ensemble of Gaul within its ancient boundaries, proceeding either identifying ancient names and ethnonyms with modern terms, or, conversely, by Latinizing modern names (for example, *Asparnaycum* for Epernay) while often by selecting elements, especially urban ones, which were meaningful in his epoch.[22] He settles his accounts with Italian humanism by correcting Boccacio, who, in his *De montibus*, had made the Saône a river in Germany, and Petrarch, whom he reproaches for calling Caesar the founder of Lutetia.[23] The solution adopted in his *descriptio galliarum* is, in sum, an ingenious cobbling together, which respects both the ancient geographic tradition while at the same time giving the modern reader a way to situate himself. Robert Gaguin expresses his preference for modern toponyms at the end of his description of Gaul, where he explains that he does not follow the geographers but prefers to adopt the names being used in his own time, in order to avoid confusion.[24] He ends his geographical tableau by giving another division of Gaul, this time into 18 ecclesiastical provinces. Following the rules of

ancient rhetoric, which require the description of the space in which action takes place, he carried out a rapid but complete digression on this Gallic space, “so rich and so populous in which the domination of the Francs has progressively spread, so that they henceforth control the greatest part.”[25] When describing the Gauls, he also evokes the kingdom of France, even if the author and his readers are cognizant of the fact that the kingdom does not cover the Gauls in their totality.[26] That does not prevent the glory of Gaul from being reflected upon the actual kingdom of France.[27]

Lay Culture and the Description of the Kingdom of France

Robert Gaguin was a learned person, part of the scholarly and humanistic tradition. Other texts give a very different image of France, particularly *Le livre de la description des pays* by Gilles le Bouvier, Herald at Arms in the service of the French king, written in French to entertain those who are interested in geography:

> Because people from diverse nations and countries enjoy and take pleasure in seeing the world and the diverse things which are in it, as I have done in the past, and because some people wish to know without going there while others wish to see, go and travel, I began this little book, according to my limited understanding, so that those who see it might truly know the manner, the form, and the properties of the things which exist in all the kingdoms, Christian and otherwise, where I have gone.[28]

Gilles le Bouvier, doubtless born around 1386 in Bourges, was attached to the house of the dukes of Berry and entered in 1418 into the service of the dauphin Charles, Duke of Berry. In 1420 he became a herald and, that same year, king of arms for Berry. A zealous servant of the king, he was also the author of several historic works, an armorial and the *Livre de la description du pays*.[29] Gilles le Bouvier represents the protean group of heralds of arms, products of a specific moment in European political history when, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, the sovereignty of the State developed against the liberty and power of the nobles. The heralds, at the service of the royal or princely State, were also the bearers of the values of chivalry.[30] Beyond their numerous political functions (master of ceremonies in the tournaments and other noble celebrations, representative of the prince, ambassador and messenger, specific functions in the grand moments of political life such as accession or royal funerals), they recounted in their writings the honors of princes

and nobles, and vouched for the truth in matters concerning war, peace, and the chivalric code of honor.[31] It is therefore interesting to observe that in the literary production of the heralds there are geographical treatises. In addition to that of Gilles le Bouvier, one can cite *Livro de Arautos* by an anonymous author, probably Portuguese, consisting of an armorial followed by an unfinished Latin description of the world (in which, therefore, there is no French kingdom).[32] In the *Débat des herauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre*, an anonymous text, the dispute concerns the preeminence of one or the other country: the author, who is French, tips the balance in favor of France, which he characterizes in certain passages beginning with concrete elements described with great precision, some of which are found in the description of France by Gilles le Bouvier.[33] The herald of arms, who travels widely and is an expert in heraldry, also knows the extent of political dominions, which places him in the first rank for writing geographic descriptions very different from the productions of scholars.[34] It is, moreover, to this form of expertise that the Herald of Berry links himself in the prologue cited above, where he twice mentions that he has seen the things about which he is reporting.[35]

It is a question of sharing knowledge of "all the realms, both Christian and others," no longer according to the immutable order of scholarly Latin geography but, on the contrary, by inscribing the description of the world in the contemporary geopolitical order.[36] The description of countries opens with the kingdom of France, which is perceived as a concrete political entity. Of all the kingdoms described, it has the longest description, imprinted with a sort of patriotic ideology. It is a matter of praising the kingdom based upon three themes: temperance of the climate; extent of the kingdom; and exceptional fertility, characterized by two resources with great symbolic value, wine and wheat:

> First of all the kingdom of France, because it is the prettiest, the most pleasant, the most gracious and the best proportioned compared to all the others, because it has six months of summer and six months of winter, which no other kingdom has. This aforementioned summer begins in April and lasts until October, when wheat and wines are harvested. Winter lasts from October until April; in the kingdom summer is not as hot nor winter as cold as in other countries.[37]

Praise for the temperance of the country is a commonplace, forged in the course of the fourteenth century on the model of the Latin *locus amoenus* and disseminated as well in evocations of France as a fertile garden.[38] References to the natural resources serve to reinforce the fortunate character of the kingdom through the evocation of its riches:

> This kingdom is very fertile in wheat, wine, cattle, iron, lead, copper,

> wool and fruit depending upon the warmth of the region.[39]

The general presentation of the kingdom continues with the precise enumeration of the rivers that constitute the frontiers of the kingdom, then with an enumeration of the (navigable) rivers, another of France's riches. Overall the kingdom is characterized with praise. Next comes a description of each of its regions. It is divided along the Loire, in a succession of adjoining "lands" following a repetitive model: the region or land is characterized (often with praise, with several exceptions, such as the Sologne, which is a poor area), then its contents are enumerated with great precision (agricultural resources, wheat, wine, cattle and other characteristic productions, water resources, ponds, forests, rivers, and other particular resources such as springs and minerals). The principal towns and the episcopal seats are cited and, lastly, the inhabitants are described with several characteristic traits:

> Then there is the land of Poitou, which has good wheat, wine, meats, and fresh and salt-water fish. And there are beautiful castles and towns and plenty of nobles. And there are three cities, Poitiers, Maillezés and Luxon on the seashore of this land, where the Loire empties into the sea as far as the Charente, where lots of salt is produced, which enriches the region substantially, and its good people eat salted bread and are equipped with large offices.[40]

In these descriptions, which always follow the same format, there are two striking traits: the care for precision and the attention to economic realities, as attested to by the mention of salt in the previous citation.

The overall structure is enumerative and cumulative: "then there is … and there is," while at the same time following a geographical order: the regions south of Loire begin with Velay, followed by Auvergne, the Boubonnais, Berry, Sologne, Touraine, and Poitou, to head towards the south-west. The terms for designating the spaces described are above all "the land," but also the feudal structure: "then there is the county of Flanders," "then there is the land of Normandy, which is a good duchy," "and there are several counts there, men of the duke."[41] He sometimes draws up a list of the feudal ensembles located in the lands. The onomastic, whether it is the name of lands, places or towns, is always modern.[42]

As is the case with scholarly geography, great attention is paid to the borders of the kingdom, which are given at the beginning of the description, without any reference to ancient history: Gilles le Bouvier describes without ambiguity a political realm. The extent of the kingdom is signaled in a concrete way. It extends from Escluse to the kingdom of Navarre, it is limited by the sea, the Pyrenees as far as

Narbonne, and the Rhône as far as Lyon, then the rivers Saône, Meuse, and Escaut as far as Flanders. But, in the interior of the kingdom, the more one moves from one land without clearly marked borders to another, the more the elements separating the kingdom of France from the other political powers play the role of closed, "national" frontiers. The author said of the Meuse "by which the aforementioned kingdom is closed against the Germans."[43]

He also sometimes mentions the language spoken by the inhabitants. About Brittany he writes: "and in the Breton-speaking part of Brittany, a language is spoken which no one but they speak or learn" and, after having finished his exposé on the kingdom of France, he begins to describe "the lands of the Empire which are on this side of the mountains and which in olden days belonged to the kingdom of France and spoke a primitive form of French."[44] The Herald of Berry therefore points to language as a bearer of identity, even if linguistic unity did not exist in the kingdom in the middle of the fifteenth century.[45] As described by the Herald of Berry, the kingdom of France, excluding Breton-speaking Brittany, is a space in which people understand one another: the south-east of present-day France, a land of the Empire, maintains the memory of an ancient French identity by speaking a primitive French.

In his geography, Gilles le Bouvier expresses a political perception of space, marked by a form of patriotism in the use of common places coming directly from the rhetoric of the *locus amoenus*, which accompanies a marked attention to natural resources and by the recognition of a common identity based upon languages.

In the *Livre de la description des pays*, the kingdom of France holds a special place, because of the size and location at the beginning of a description that covers an important part of the known world in the middle of the fifteenth century. A perception of political space and recognition of its identity can be seen there, but one is also struck by the concrete character of details given about the resources of the kingdom, its agricultural production, and its underground reserves. The author doubtless makes errors, but these do not taint the value and the precision of the information. It is legitimate to ask about the sources of his knowledge. In the prologue, Gilles le Bouvier insists upon the experience of the trips that guarantee the veracity of his writings ("savoir au vrai").[46] It is probably more a formula than a reality, frequent in authors of travel accounts like John Mandeville: the expertise of the trip is always accompanied by the use of diverse written sources which give structure to and inform the account, including the places that the author is likely to have really visited.[47] The only manuscript which contains the *Livre de la description des pays* concludes with a list of bishoprics of the kingdom, another of duchies

and counties, and a short text relating an evaluation of the kingdom's revenues.[48] Gilles le Bouvier very probably used similar lists, and he was able to use documents conserved in the royal archives or library, perhaps also itineraries. Certain aspects of his geography also suggest the utilization of a map: the description of rivers, their sources and their mouths, the geographical description departs on both sides from the Loire, in sequence going from the eastern center to the south-west for the southern part, and from the eastern center to the western center, before ending in the Île-de-France for the northern part.

Making Maps of France

The large mural world maps or those conserved in manuscripts can also be the object of an attentive reading of Gallic space: beginning in the twelfth century, in his *De mappe mundi*, Hugh of Saint-Victor describes Gaul based on a large mural world map shown at the abbey of Saint-Victor.[49] Although modern historians usually interpret such maps as the essence of a symbolic vision, for medieval scholars, they were a legitimate representation of reality. There is a precedent for extracting from such world maps a more limited space in order to create a regional map: a manuscript (about 1200) of the treatise on Ireland by Giraud de Barri, contains a map created in the entourage of the author and whose essential function is to show the spatial relations between Great Britain and Rome.[50] Among the places drawn, the space of France is represented in detail. On it one sees Paris and the Ile de la Cité, as well as the principal regions.[51]

The earliest extant map of Gaul is found in a fourteenth-century manuscript of Italian origin. Associated with Solin's *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, which it completes (it includes a collection of toponyms more complete than Solin's text), drawn on a full page, it presents an organization of space structured by rivers that serve to localize peoples and towns. The parallel positions of the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne go back to an ancient perception whereas certain place names show a Carolingian stratum ("Lotorigenses," "regnum Aquitanie," "Normanie"). It is apparently a matter of a map of antique origin, modified in the Carolingian epoch and recopied as such by the fourteenth-century Italian copyist.[52]

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, a map of France made by an Italian who was also in the service of the Duke of Berry existed in Paris. This map, mentioned by the humanist Niccolò Niccoli and certified at the time is unfortunately now lost. On the back of a letter addressed to Cosimo de Medici, Niccoli wrote that he has rediscovered the name of the person who, in Paris, possesses "il sito di Gallia

dipinto," which he proposes to have copied for himself and for Cosimo.[53] It turns out that the person in question was Pietro Sacchi da Verona, who had been in Paris since 1397; since then he had become a librarian for the Duke of Berry and a bookseller and illuminator in Paris until 1421. Sebastiano Gentile hypothesizes that this map is the source of the maps of modern Gaul that we will discuss subsequently. It is not unthinkable that Gilles le Bouver—who was himself for a time in the service of the Duke of Berry—used such a map for his description of the country. But, because of the total lack of information about the appearance of the map, it is impossible here to go beyond the status of a seductive but unverifiable hypothesis.

Additional maps of France, coming from lay milieus as well as learned circles, exist from the middle of the fifteenth century. An anonymous manuscript created about 1460 and containing a historic text accompanied by genealogies, entitled *A tous nobles*, contains a cartographic schema of the kingdom of France.[54] It is presented by the scribe as, "This figure contains the entire kingdom of France, which is presently described," and it explains that when the name "France" was first used, the kingdom was not so large, but afterwards it grew bigger, and it was then reduced by certain facts related in the present chronicles.[55] The map shows the kingdom of France (and not Gaul), delimited by the rivers (Meuse, Saône, Rhone), and by the sea, structured by the Seine, the Loire, and the Gironde. It includes vignettes of the towns of the kingdom, with a strong representation of towns under Burgundian domination, Avignon, which was not part of the kingdom, and Paris, oversized in comparison to the other towns. *A tous nobles* summarizes the history of France from an ideological point of view, insisting upon the link between territorial formation and the identity of the kingdom. It is related to the form and the contents of the noble culture shared by Gilles le Bouvier.

Very different are the first maps of Gaul that accompany the diffusion of Ptolemy's *Geography*. In the second half of the fifteenth century, maps of a modernized Gaul, presenting modern toponyms and a layout that is not Ptolemy's, accompany manuscripts of the *Geography*.[56] In the luxury copies produced serially in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century, Nicolaus Germanus, Piero del Massiao, and Henricus Martellus introduce modern maps, among which are found maps of France (see Map 10.1).[57]

Map 10.1 Map of Modern Gaul, Henricus Martellus, Insularium illustratum (Musée Condée, MS 698, fols 62v–63r) cliché CNRS-IRHT, © Bibliothèque et archives du Château de Chantilly

Modern maps also appear in the printed editions of the *Geography*, for example the Ulm editions of 1482, then 1486.[58] In his verse adaptation of the *Geography*, the *Septe giornate della geographia*, the Florentine Francesco Berlinghieri also added modern maps, including a map of France.[59] The realization of these maps and their insertion in the *Geography*, along with other modern maps, would merit a deeper analysis not possible here. Let us content ourselves with several remarks. The two types of map present a different image of Gaul, even if they both depict a geographical space that goes beyond the territorial extent of the kingdom, which they do not aim to represent. The Ptolemean sketch of Gaul is, to our eyes, inexact. The map obviously bears antique toponyms and recreates the antique division into Belgian Gaul, Lyonnais, Aquitaine, and Narbonnais. The maps of modern Gaul appear more exact, in both the overview (probably based on maritime maps) and the details—the onomastic is modern. It would therefore be tempting to oppose these two representations, one

of ancient Gaul constituting a sort of historical geography, the other more modern, therefore more exact and destined to take into account the reality of modern space. But such value judgments are not those of the cartographers and users. In the spirit of their creators, rather, they are complementary objects that correspond to a conception of space founded, as late as the end of the fifteenth century, on a permanent coming and going between the space of Antiquity and that of Modernity, which can be problematic because of the difficulties in establishing correspondences between certain ancient and modern toponyms. In the copies of his *Insularium*, Henricus Martellus (mapmaker of German origin, familiar with the family Martelli and active in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century) integrates, among other modern maps, a map of France, preceded by a descriptive text comprised of extracts devoted to Gaul from Caesar, Orosius, and Isidore of Seville; obviously there is no conflict between the texts of the ancient geographers and the modern representation.[60] In 1525, Oronce Finé juxtaposes on his map of Gaul ancient names, "based upon Julius Caesar, Ptolemy, and the other ancients, in order to satisfy those who delight in reading the ancient histories of the aforementioned Gaul," with modern names, using different writing; in a way that appears contradictory, the procedure signals this time a clear differentiation between antique space and modern space, which are juxtaposed on the map.[61]

In closing, I would like to call attention to the map by Jacques Signot, who was charged by Charles VIII with a reconnaissance mission to the Alpine peaks in preparation for Italian military operations. Created in 1495–98, entitled *Map of Italy*, it represents the passages and routes of the Italian peninsula; only the designation on the West of the "mountains of Gaul" links it to France, but it shows the existence of cartography for military operations.[62]

It would be easy to oppose the two representations of France: first, the scholars' view such as that of John of Saint-Victor, founded on reading ancient texts and impregnated, from the fifteenth century on, by Ptolemy's *Geography*, which was concerned above all with determining an initially ahistorical space that would lead in the texts to a discussion of its borders and its internal divisions, and which would take form at the end of the fifteenth century in the creation of a historical geography illustrated by the production of Ptolemean maps of ancient Gaul; the second, represented by Gilles le Bouvier and by the modern maps of France, which would seek to describe the political space of the French kingdom and to produce a more exact cartography. Unfortunately, this simple explanatory schema does not stand up to scrutiny. One should instead think in terms of cultural milieus, even personalities, characterized by different intentions and

conceptions, which were not fundamentally hermetic. John of Saint-Victor was seeking a permanent description of Gaul that would be as operative as possible, without totally rejecting the effects of a politization of space. The praise for France is not solely the province of the modern, lay geography of Gilles le Bouvier; it is equally expressed by Pierre d'Ailly, whose *Imago mundi* is, however, the product of scholarly Latin geography. Robert Gaguin describes a Gaul inserted into an antique framework and modernized in its toponyms, while criticizing the Italian humanists of the fourteenth century (guilty like Petrarch of scorn for the scholarly French tradition), which permits him to express his capacity for surpassing the Italian models. The modern maps of France accompany and complete the ancient maps in the luxury copies of Ptolemy's *Geography*, destined for an aristocratic public, without expressing the superiority of the antique over the modern, or the inverse. Moreover, these modern maps do not define the political space of the kingdom, but rather extend beyond the frontiers of the kingdom to the ancient limits of Roman Gaul. Descriptions and representations of France were not simply becoming more exact; they were the product of the remarkable interest in geography all across Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Examined together, they reveal a diversity in the types of representation (considered as complementary), a synthesis of different types of cartography, that is, the confrontation of antique and modern data, and also the emergence of new usages linked to the expression of sovereignty and to practical applications (notably administrative and military). The ways of designating what I have called for convenience "French space" and which varies among Gaul, New Gaul, or the kingdom of France, retain their adaptability in the sixteenth century, permitting one to take into account the historicity of space and the mutability of political domination, as witnessed by *Les Illustrations de Gaule* by Jean Lemaire de Belges.[63] More broadly, the diversity of these representations of France is at once a function of the authors and their choices, their goals, and the constraints of documentation. In this respect, the essential characteristic of the geographical production of the final centuries of the Middle Ages becomes more apparent: that is, the remarkable growth of data, issuing from the discovery of antique texts as much as the accumulation of modern information, which drove those producing such maps to confront, reconcile, and criticize their sources. The different manners in which they conceived of and represented "French space" resulted from this circumstance much more than an improved understanding of geography. It remains to be determined when and what the intellectual and ideological conditions were that gave birth to a more uniform and (impoverished) image of France.

1 Robert Fawtier, “Comment le roi de France au début du XIVe siècle pouvait-il se représenter son royaume?” in *Mélanges offerts à Paul-E. Martin* (Geneva, 1961), pp. 65–77.

2 On this point, see the work of Margret Lugge, *“Gallia” und “Francia” im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen geographisch-historicher Terminologie und politischen Denken vom 6–15. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1960); Bernd Schneidmüller, *Nomen patriae. Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie (10–13 Jahrhundert*) (Sigmaringen, 1987).

3 On the role of borders in medieval geography, see Nathalie Bouloux, “Le rôle des limites dans la géographie et la cartographie de la fin du Moyen Âge (XIVe–XVe siècles),” in Stéphane Boisselier and Flocel Sabaté (eds), *Le rôle des frontières dans la formation des territoires médiévaux. Actes des journées d’étude de Nantes, Paris, Poitiers et Tours 2009–2010* (Lleida, forthcoming).

4 Orosius, *Histoires contre les Païens*, trans. and ed. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet (Paris, 1990), I, 2, pp. 63–7, 28–9.

5 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae, XIV*, ed. and trans. Olga Spevak (Paris, 2011), 4, pp. 25–7, 76–9.

6 Hugues de Fleury, *Historia ecclesiastica*, partially published in *Paschalis II, Gelasii II, Calixti II romanorum Ponticium epistolae et privilegia*, PL, 143 (Paris, 1854), pp. 835–6.

7 This is very evident for Belgium, and a bit less for the Lyonnaise and Aquitaine.

8 “Aquitania vero a Varunna flumine ad Pireneos montes extenditur, et obliquo Ligeris cursu, qui eam ex parte terminat, pene in orbem cingitur” [“Aquitaine extends from the Garonne to the Pyrenees and it is surrounded as if by an oblique circle by the path of the Loire, which delimits it”], Hugues de Fleury, *Historia ecclesiastica*, p. 836.

9 “Has tres Galliae provincias dum Franci occupassent, illam regionem quae septentrionem versus inter Mosam et Rhenum porrigitur Austriam, illam autem quae a Mosa usque ad Ligerim protenditur Neustriam vocitaverunt. Quaedam tamen pars Galliae quam Burgundiones intra Lugdunensem occupavere provinciam nunc Burgundia vocatur” [“When the Franks occupied the three provinces of Gaul, they called the regions that extends towards the North between the Meuse and the Rhine ‘Austrasie,’ and that which extends between the Meuse and the Loire, ‘Neustria.’ The part of Gaul that the Burgundians occupied in the Lyonnais is called today Burgundy”], ibid., p. 836.

10 “Et haec modo tantum de situ Galliae compendioso sermone dixisse sufficiat. Restat tamen ut et Narbonensem provinciam, quae pars Galliarum est, describamus” [“It remains however to describe the province of the Narbonese, which is a part of Gaul”], ibid., p. 836.

11 Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, *Le* Memoriale historiarum *de Jean de Saint-Victor* (Turnhout, 2000). The first part of the passage in question was published in Patrick Gautier-Dalché, “La *Descriptio mappe mundi* de Hugues de Saint-Victor: *retractatio et additamenta*,” in Jean Longère (ed.), *L’abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 169–73. I summarize here the study of these texts undertaken in Nathalie Bouloux, “Le rôle des limites dans la géographie et la cartographie de la fin du Moyen Âge (XIVe–XVe siècles).”

12 The second part is partially published in Guyot-Bachy, *Le* Memoriale historiarum *de Jean de Saint-Victor*, annexe IV, *Dossier sur l’histoire des origines du peuple franc*, pp. 535–9.

13 On this point, see Guyot-Bachy, *Le* Memoriale historiarum *de Jean de Saint-Victor*, pp. 355–92.

14 See Nathalie Bouloux, “Nouvelle lecture de l’Imago mundi de Pierre d’Ailly,”

in *Représentations et conceptions de l'espace dans la culture médiévale. Colloque Fribourgeois 2009, Fribourg (19–21 October 2009*) (Berlin/Boston, 2011), pp. 237–64.

15 Pierre d'Ailly, *Ymago mundi*, ed. Edmond Buron (3 vols, Paris, 1930), vol. 2, p. 334. "Sciendum autem quod Orosius et Ysidorus aliique antiqui cosmographi nichil pene loquuntur de francie regno in galliis constituto, quod omnium regnorum europe nunc maximum est. Nichil etiam de eius precipua ciuitate Parisius ubi est uelut quedam mundi lucerna maximum tam diuinarum quam humanarum studium litterarum. Nichil preterea de aliis huius regni ciuitatumque suarum preminentiis aut aliarum uicinarum terrarum huic regno adiacentium sicut Lothoringorum, Leodiensium, Hannoniensis, Cameracensis, Brabantinorum, Flamingorum aliorumque plurium, in quibus sunt urbes et oppida populique numerosi et multis bonis ac diuiciis copiosi. Quod ideo factum existimo quia antiqui actores tractabant non dominationibus regnorum que sepe mutantur sed de diuisionibus regionum que per aliqua immutabiliter manentia describuntur. Forte etiam quod partes iste non tunc sicut nunc erant populate nec famose. Sed et nostri cosmographi grecorum et romanorum scripta secuti sunt qui res suas multoplus quam alienas extulerunt."

16 Raimondo Marliani, *G. Julli Caesaris Commentariorum de bello Gallico* (Venice, Octaviani Scoti, 1482), f. 131v–132, for example: "Celtica quae et Gallia olim a romanis dicebatur Bisuntinam, Senonensem, Bituricensem, Turonensem, Lugdunensem ciuitates metropolicas earumque suffraganeos omnes inter Garumnam, Matronam, Sequanam et Rhodanum flumina sitas complectitur. In hac sunt ducatus Bituricensis, Burgundiae, Bordonii, Auernia, Aurelienensis, Ualesii a quo moderni Francorum reges cognominantur et Normaniae quoad citra Sequanam se extendit, comitatus etiam Burgundiae, Niuernensis, Antissiodorensis montis Belicardi, Ferretensis, Carolotensis, Matisconensis, Blesensis, Beluacensis …" ["Gaul, once called Celtica by the Romans, comprises the metropolitan cities of Besançon, Sens, Bourges, Tours, [and] Lyon with its dependencies, all situated between the Garonne, the Marne, the Seine, and the Rhône. One finds the duchies of Bourges, Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Orléans, [and] Valois, whence the modern kings of the Franks take their name, and of Normandy, which extends beyond the Seine, the counties of Burgundy, Nevers, Auxerre, Montbéliard, Ferrette, Charolles, Mâcon, Blois and Beauvais …"].

17 Ibid., p. 145: "Si autem Britanniae insula a Caesare citra diuersissimum nomen accepit, nam Anglia nuncupatur, ut aiunt, ab Anglo rege sic dicta, nec in Gallia erat ulla minor Britannia nec Francia, Burgundia, Borbonium, Loteringia, Brabantia, Sabbaudia, Flandria, Normania, Hannonia, Vasconia, Delphinatus, Picardia ac ut plurimum in uniuerso orbe regna, prouinciae, insulae, montes, flumina, fontes, siluae, maria, ciuitates et loca quae memorant Ptolomaeus ac Strabo penitus mutauerint nomina" ["There was not in Gaul any smaller Bretagne, France, Burgundy, Bourbonnais, Lorraine, Brabant, Savoie, Flanders, Normandy, Hainaut, Gascony, Dauphiné, Picardy: in the whole world, a great number of kingdoms, provinces, islands, mountains, rivers, forests, seas, cities, and places, which Ptolemy and Strabo mention, have completely changed name"].

18 Robert Gaguin, *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* (eds Jean Petit and Durant Gerlier, Paris, 1500), book I, fol. 2v°–4r°. On Robert Gaguin, Franck Collard, *Un historien au travail à la fin du XV^e siècle: Robert Gaguin* (Geneva, 1996), especially pp. 266–8.

19 Ibid., fol. 2v°.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid, fol. 3.

22 Moreover, he notes at the end of his description, that "Et haec est quidem Gallie a priscis auctoribus tradita partitio" ["And this is the division of Gaul

according to the ancient authors"], and adds a short excursus on other divisions, such as the way that Augustus added a fourth province, Lyonnais Gaul; Robert Gaguin, *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum*, fol. 3v°.

23 Ibid., fol. 3r° and 3v°. For Boccacio's error, see *De montibus*, ed. Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Padua, 1963), p. 1916. In one of his letters, Petrarch mentions the pretensions of Paris to have been founded by Julius Caesar, without subscribing to them. See, "Familière," I, 4, in *Lettres Familières, I–III*, trans. André Longpré (Paris, 2002), p. 57.

24 Robert Gaguin, *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum*, fols 3v°–4: "Ceterum nos geographiam, id est terrae descriptionem, non sequimur, sed tempori obsequimur, locos usitato et trito nomine appellantes. Nam si quis priscam illorum institutionem, iis quibus aetas nostra utitur conferet, nihil relinquet non confusum. Itaque post romani imperii inclinationem singulae prope gentes imperii nomen exosae, nouis aduenientibus principatibus alia atque alia locis nomina posuerunt" ["Moreover, we have not followed geography, that is to say the description of the world, but we have referred to time, by calling the places by their common-use name"].

25 Robert Gaguin, *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum*, fol. 4.

26 In the introduction to his translation of Caesar's *Commentaries*, in Robert Gaguin, *Les commentaires de Julius Cesar* (edn A. Verard, Paris, 1488), n. p., dedicated to Charles VIII, he expressed this idea once again: "Car comme deux choses soyent premierement requises et fort convenables a ung souverain prince, cest assauoir prudence de conduire en bon ordre les choses publicques et force de mener vaillamment et de couraige les guerres quant il en est besoing, vous trouverez lune et lautre chose en ce livre lequel Iules Cesar escript de ses mesmes faiz et entreprinses lesquelles il fist en dix ans quil eust la charge du peuple de Romme de gouverner la prouince de Gaule, pendant lequel temps il eust congnoissance a loeil de toutes les contrees et de tous les fors lieux de la terre de Gaule en laquelle vostre royaulme est situe et assis et lequel comprend la plus grande partie dicelle terre" ["Because in the first place two things are required and useful to a sovereign prince, that is, prudence in the good direction of public business and the power to lead with valiance and courage war when necessary; you will find these two things in the book written by Julius Caesar of his deeds and actions during the ten years when he was charged by the Roman people to govern the province of Gaul. During these years, he had a direct knowledge of all the counties and the fortified places of the land of Gaul, in which your kingdom, which comprises the greatest part of that land, is situated"].

27 Robert Gaguin, *Les Commentaires*, n. p.: "… et en ce faisant il nous donne congnoissance de moult de choses seruant a la gloire du pais de Gaule et de vostre royaulme" ["In doing that, he gives us knowledge of many useful things serving the glory of the land of Gaul and of your kingdom"].

28 Gilles le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays*, ed. Ernest Théodore Hamy (Paris, 1908), p. 29.

29 On the biography of Gilles le Bouvier, see the introduction in *Les Chroniques du roi Charles VII*, ed. Henri Courteault, Léonce Celier, with Marie-Henriette Julien de Pommerol (Paris, 1979), pp. xxxii–xxxviii. Gilles le Bouvier was also the author of an armorial, see *Armorial de Gilles le Bouvier*, ed. Emmanuel de Boos (Paris, 1995) and of several historical works.

30 On the heralds of arms, who have been the object of recent studies, see the articles collected in *Le héraut, figure européenne (XIVe–XVIe siècle)*, articles gathered by Bertrand Schnerb, in *Revue du Nord*, no. 366–7, t. 88 (2006), in particular Werner Paravicini, "Le héraut d'armes: ce que nous savons et ce que nous ne savons pas,"

pp. 467–90, and Gert Melville, “Pourquoi des hérauts d’armes? Les raisons d’une institution,” pp. 491–502.

31 See Torsten Hiltmann, “Vieux chevaliers, pucelles, anges. Fonctions et caractères principaux des hérauts d’armes d’après les légendes sur l’origine de l’office d’armes au XVe siècle,” in *Le héraut, figure européenne (XIVe–XVIe siècle)*, pp. 503–25.

32 *Livro de Arautos (De ministerio Armorum)*, ed. Aires Augusto Nascimento (Lisbon, 1977). The *Libro del conosçimiento de todos los rregnos et tierras et señorios que son por el mundo, et de las señales et armas que han, ed. facsim. del ms. Z* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. hisp. 150), eds María Jesús Lacarra, María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, and Alberto Montaner (Saragossa, 1999) is doubtless in the same vein.

33 *Le Débat des hérauts d’armes de France et d’Angleterre*, eds Léopold Pannier and Paul Meyer (Paris, 1877).

34 In a different genre, the armorial of Guillaume Revel also reveals a link between armorials, the exercise of power, and geographical knowledge: tasked by the Duke of Bourbon with listing in an armorial his fiefs in Auvergne, Forez and the Bourbonnais, the herald realized around a hundred views of castles. Cf. Gabriel Fournier, *Châteaux, villages et villes d’Auvergne au XVe siècle d’après l’armorial de Guillaume Revel* (Geneva, 1973).

35 This is a commonplace of travel literature, which purport to report only what the authors have seen with their own eyes; this is also the case in the description by Gilles le Bouvier, whose sources deserve study.

36 Gilles le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays*, p. 29.

37 Ibid., p. 30.

38 Nicole Pons, “De la renommée du royaume à l’honneur de la France,” *Médiévales*, 24 (1993): 106; Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la France* (Paris, 1985), pp. 429–35.

39 Gilles le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays*, p. 31.

40 Ibid., p. 41.

41 Ibid., pp. 47–9.

42 Ibid., p. 46, on Artois: “Icelle conté a cinq contes soubz lui. C’es[t] assavoir le conte de Saint-Pol, le conte de [Guynes], le conte de Pontieu, le conte de Boulloigne et le conte de Foucquemberghe” [“This county has five counts under it. One should know they are the Count of Saint-Pol, the Count of Guynes, the Count of Pontieu, the Count of Boulogne, and the Count of Fauquembergues”].

43 Ibid., p. 32.

44 For Brittany: Gilles le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays*, p. 49; for the lands of the Empire, ibid., p. 52.

45 On the linguistic identity of the kingdom, see Beaune, *Naissance de la France*, pp. 395–405.

46 Gilles le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays*, p. 29.

47 See John Mandeville, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, ed. Christiane Deluz (Paris, 2000), p. 92.

48 Gilles le Bouvier, *Le livre de la description des pays*, appendices II and III, pp. 139–46, 133–8.

49 Patrick Gautier-Dalché, *La ‘Descriptio mappe mundi’ de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1988), especially the commentary, p. 179.

50 Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS 700, fol. 48.

51 Thomas O’Loughlin, “An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin: A Window into the World of Giraldus Cambrensis,” *Imago Mundi*, 51 (1999): 24–39.

52 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vanticana, MS Ross. 228, fol. 38. Reproduction and analysis of the map in Nathalie Bouloux, *Culture et savoirs géographiques en Italie au XIV^e siècle* (Turnout, 2002), pp. 182–5, plate II.

53 See Sebastiano Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America. Umanesimo e geografia nel' 400 Fiorentino* (Florence, 1992), notice 53, pp. 103–4.

54 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 4991, fol. 5v°. *A tous nobles* was composed towards the start of the fifteenth century. Around 60 manuscripts of it survive, in several versions marked with additions. The map has been studied in detail by Camille Serchuk, "Picturing France in the Fiftenth Century: The Map in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 4991," in *Imago mundi*, 58, 2 (2006): 139–49; Camille Serchuk, "*Ceste figure contient tout le royaulme de France*. Cartography and national identity in France at the end of the Hundred Years War," in *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007): 320–38; Camille Serchuk, "*Cartes et chroniques*: mapping and history in late medieval France," in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, eds Richard J.A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger (Leyden/Boston, 2008), pp. 257–76, reproduction of the map as plate XIV.

55 Serchuk, "Picturing France," p. 143.

56 One of the oldest examples of a non-Ptolomean map of France in a manuscript of the *Geography* is that in manuscript Harley 3868, f.20, in the British Library. This manuscript, produced between 1436 and 1450, probably in Venice, presents several regional maps resulting from the synthesis of several geographic models (in particular marine and Ptolomean maps) See Marcia Milanesi, "A Forgotten Ptolemy: Harley Codex 3686 in the British Library," in *Imago mundi*, 48/1 (1996): 43–64.

57 Patrick Gautier-Dalché, *La géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IV^e–XVI^e siècle*) (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 221–2; Sebastiano Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America*, notices 101 to 103, 114.

58 See Monique Pelletier, *De Ptolémée à La Guillotière (XV^e–XVI^e siècle). Des cartes pour la France, pourquoi, comment?* (Paris, 2009), especially chapter 1. For an old version see Monique Pelletier, "La cartographie de la France aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, entre passé, présent et futur," *Le Monde des Cartes*, 182 (2004): 7–19; "Reproduction des cartes nouvelles de la Francia," in Pelletier, *De Ptolémée à la Guillotière*, plate 2 (*Frantia*, in the edition from Ulm, 1482); plate 3 (*Tabula Moderna Galliae*, in the edition from Strasbourg, 1513).

59 For a reproduction, see Monique Pelletier, Henriette Ozanne, *Portraits de la France. Les cartes, témoins de l'histoire* (Paris, 1995), fig. 19, p. 56.

60 Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 698, fols 61v°–62 for the description; fols 62v°–63r° for the map. Concerning Henricus Martellus, see Lorentz Böninger, *Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Florenz* (Leyde, 2006), Nathalie Bouloux, "L'insularium illustratum d'Henricus Martellus," *The Historical Review/La Revue historique* IX (2012): 77–94.

61 Cited by Pelletier, *De Ptolémée à La Guillotière (XV^e-XVI^e siècle*), p. 20.

62 A reproduction of the map may be found in Pelletier, *Portraits de la France. Les cartes, témoins de l'histoire*, fig. 27, p. 65.

63 Jacques Abélard, "Les *Illustrations de Gaule* de Jean Lemaire de Belges. Quelle Gaule? Quelle France? Quelle nation?" in *Nouvelles revues du XVI^e siècle*, 13/1 (1995): 7–27.

Chapter 11
The Definition and Boundaries of Eucharistic Space in the Grail Prose Romances: Focalization and Dissemination

Catherine Nicolas
Translated from the French by Raeleen Chai-Elsholz

> Item potest dicere peccator cum intrat conscientiam suam eam scrutando, quod dixit Julius Cesar Romanis, rediens de obsidione cujusdam civitatis rebellis: "Inveni, ait, ollam plenam diris serpentibus."
> [*Item*, the sinner can say when he enters his conscience to examine it what Julius Caesar said to the Romans upon his return from a siege of a rebel city: "I found," he said, "a jar full of horrid snakes."]
>
> Etienne de Bourbon, exemplum 186 b–c,
> *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*[1]

"A jar full of horrid snakes," a place "clogged with dirty things" with ever "more and more bilge still flowing in," "festering with terrible sores," and "spreading the suppuration of festering wounds all over the place"—this is the soul, depicted as a physical place where the windows of the senses, left open by an ailing will, allows the filth of sin to enter and fill the memory.[2] Etienne de Bourbon, Bernard of Clairvaux, and other preachers circulated this conception of the soul widely. They used these powerful images to prevail upon those who were on the wrong path to invite them to a new, inner conversion. The metaphorical representation of memory as a house "clogged with dirty things" crystallizes the horror of sin, and if that were not enough, in Saint Bernard's sermons, for example, the will, in the guise of a "crazy old hag" covered with sores, is summoned to this place. "Her hair standing on end, her clothes torn, her breast bare; she picks at her sores and grinds her teeth," and in her folly she calls upon "reason, greatly reduced and, as it were, blind," and accuses it because

"so far it has failed to see this state of affairs."[3] But even after this reprimand, reason, "greatly reduced" as it is, cannot revive its comparative power (*vis collativa*) that would enable it to put an end to the chaos by assembling the information it receives from the senses.

This representation was not new to the thirteenth century, but it developed at that time in an unprecedented manner.[4] It became a commonplace among preachers, and issues from imagery that was well established in monastic milieus, particularly that of the Cistercians. It undoubtedly was even more widespread throughout Christendom because it is deeply anchored in the Augustinian heritage. The structure that underlies it draws on the idea that the soul is divided into regions, and that the hidden (*insitam*) or veiled image of God resides in the deepest, most intimate of these regions (*abstrusior memoriae profunditas*), in a form of transcendent immanence.[5] To reach it, the believer must retreat into his innermost being and delve into himself to seek this transcendent immanence by stages through the regions of his soul, following the path of the memory as Augustine does.[6] It is only at the end of the metaphorical journey of this labor, after he has disciplined the most abject information from the senses tucked away within the memory and traveled through the darkest parts of his interiority, that the believer attains the *abstrusior memoriae profunditas* and his conversion is successful.[7] Like Augustine he then can say to God:

> Where did I find you in order to make acquaintance with you at the outset? You could not have been in my memory before I learned to know you. Where then could I have found you in order to learn of you, if not in yourself, far above me? "Place" has here no meaning: further away from you or toward you we may travel, but *place there is none*.[8]

At the outcome of Augustine's inner journey, memory appears again as a physical place, but this representation is now based on a somewhat paradoxical conception of space. While traditional metaphors refer to physical space, this depiction of the place where God's image resides, in the deep of the soul, where it is unveiled in a beatific vision, is a non-place where the here-and-now and the hereafter overlap, where the physical distance between man and God no longer exists.[9]

This material psychology, using metaphor to associate the immaterial soul with physical spaces (jar, palace, cesspit) sets the imaginary foundations of a cartography of the soul arranged around a divine but hidden core. As in Boethius it is made up of regions that are imbricated like concentric circles from the outermost to the innermost.[10] We can gain an understanding of such depictions of structures of the soul by reaching into the imagery of a period that

was haunted by the horror of sin, its price, and fear of Judgment Day, but also inhabited by the desire to see God.[11] The soul is portrayed as a house of memory (*memoria*) where the data ushered in through the senses, bearing the marks of sin and decked out with the most sinister appearances, mix with those produced by the imagination. These are then collected and assembled by reason (*ratio, vis collativa*) under the authority of the will. In this way, when the will is defective, reason is weakened; it no longer has the strength to assemble the influx of data from the senses. Chaos reigns, bringing us full circle back to the jar full of serpents or the pit full of filth. Sin is represented in such a way as to elicit repugnance; its depiction then intersects with that of its punishment. Recognizable in these images are those that haunt the space deserted by grace in the visions of Saint Paul, Tundale, Saint Patrick, and all those who, for a short while, left their earthly life and visited hell down to the pit where the memory of God is lost. At the point where theological thinking about structures of the soul intersects with imagery of hell, there arises a psychic geography that defines each region of inner space by its content. At memory's core, the eucharistic center inhabited by the hidden image of God (reserved for the *oculus contemplationis*) is set in opposition to the sin-encumbered periphery (represented as very materially carnal) that little by little encroaches on the whole space when the will stumbles.

This spatial structure is centered on a eucharistic core and surrounded by unspeakable confusion that is poorly tended by a defective will. Arthurian specialists will note that it bears certain similarities to the spatial structure of the first branch of the *Haut Livre du Graal* and the languor that strikes King Arthur at the opening of this strange thirteenth-century prose romance.[12] The likeness of designations (*voluntas languida* in Bernard's writings/*volonté delaianz* for Arthur), the gruesome imagery conveyed by this *haut livre* (decapitation, dismemberment, flaming lance drowning in a bleeding wound, and so on), and the eucharistic scene that closes the episode encourage speculation on the similarities. Even if it may not seem clear at the outset that the king's languor in an Arthurian romance can be read in parallel with the defective will as defined by theologians, the space of the romance lends itself to analysis along the lines of the spiritual anthropology of the time. For a romance that begins in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and promises to be of great benefit to those who listen with their heart, the hypothesis is worth testing.[13] Previous work, furthermore, has shown that Bernard's thinking was not so foreign to the romance. The *romancier* multiplies details with a view to scrambling or perturbing any rationalization of space, particularly where the episode of Cahus, wounded in a dream but dead in reality, is embedded in the story of Arthur.[14] Other details

make the reader aware that space in the romance is tricky. The portrayal of the "good King Arthur" ("the powerful king whose faith in God was authentic" who "led the noblest and most refined existence a king ever lived"), for instance, effects a discrete slippage from royal virtues to Christian ones.[15] *Bienfait* [good deeds], *los* [honor, reputation], *honor* [glory] and *largesse* [largesse, generosity] cast back to the prestige of a glorious aristocratic past, the better to underscore the distance between them and the antithetical non-virtues of *foiblesce* [weakness], *vilennie* [bad thoughts] and *meffet* [sin]. The space between the two is where the defective will appears.[16] But the scene shows above all King Arthur on Ascension Day sitting at a window in his castle with his wife.[17] This topographical detail might have been insignificant had the author not troubled to set the scene at the window and make it the starting point of Arthur's pilgrimage. The window here is the boundary between the interior and exterior of the castle, but perhaps even more so between Arthur's exteriority and his deepest interiority. In fact this window could be categorized as what Alain Corbellari defines as "windows of melancholy and memory, where characters expect nothing more; even the materialization of what their memory has formed an image of is not enough to draw them from their thoughts."[18] Although Corbellari does not refer to this particular window in his study, the preliminary scene of the first branch of *Perlesvaus* seems to bear a similarity to the "instants of suspension" that he locates elsewhere in "those privileged moments in medieval textuality that confront us with a 'being-there' of the character which maintains him in a narrative indeterminacy favorable to the exploration of his psyche."[19] In this interpretive context, the diegetic space of the plot can be envisioned as having two dimensions: the window marking the boundary between the worldly exterior where the initial scene with Guinevere takes place, and the interior space of Arthur's memory, materialized by the forest, the path, and the Chapel of St Augustine. It is then unsurprising to read in the chapel's very name a discrete invitation to recall that the tenth chapter of the *Confessions* tells of the saint wending his way toward God through his memory up to that paradoxical place where there is no distance.[20] God is present there both within the memory and above it, as mentioned earlier, in the same way as he is present within and above the eucharistic species in the Chapel of St Augustine at the end of Arthur's pilgrimage, if the conventional representation of the Real Presence staged in the romance is any indication.[21] In each case, the concept of distance is invalidated and the rules that govern physical space border on the aporia, as contradictions inherent in its construction. The image of God, hidden in the depths of the memory, borrows its representation from the eucharistic Christ. Augustine's

conversion appears as the paradigm that underlies Arthur's return to the values that will make him a good king. Thus, when Arthur's pilgrimage is superimposed on Augustine's inner progression, Arthur's languor at the outset is even more closely tied to the eucharistic liturgy that is the focal point of his pilgrimage, as well as to spatial metaphors of memory that were widely used by the theologians of the day. Space is given its full dimension in the romance; in addition to the bipartite interior-exterior space that arises around the motif of the window, another bipartite space is delimited by the chapel's uncrossable portal that separates the space of Arthur's progression from the eucharistic space in which the divine Presence manifests itself.

To consider the space of the romance in terms of structures, its organization into opposing areas in *Perlesvaus* is somewhat original, not to say problematic. In keeping with the traditional division of space in Arthurian romance, King Arthur's castle should be the opposite of the forest, a civilized space contrasting with the wilderness.[22] Here, however, the castle, emptied of its knights and deserted by the court, can hardly fulfill this role, and it is the Chapel of St Augustine, the spiritual area inhabited by the eucharistic Christ, that takes its place as the symbolic center in opposition to the pagan space of the forest. The detail of the window inscribes the worldly space of the castle within the continuity of the pagan space of the forest, disrupting the traditional structure of Arthurian romance. Nevertheless, in doing so, it reactivates the image Bernard of Clairvaux was so fond of, that of windows of the senses which allow the filth of sin to enter the memory; this establishes the space of the forest as a house of memory. Within this structural framework, the king's wanderings appear as an interior pilgrimage comparable to Cahus's journey, where he departs in a dream but is killed in reality, or, better yet, as a journey where he travels through the regions of his sinful soul, seeking the image of God that is hidden within himself. The severed limbs scattered here and there (*membra disjecta*, traditional representations of sin) would be an indication, in this framework, of the extent to which Arthur's soul is stained with sin and horrible to contemplate. The short romance converts into narrative form the image of the soiled memory that allows the abjection of sin to enter through the windows of the senses. Thus Arthur is portrayed as a "Sinner King" (*roi pécheur*) rather than as a "Fisher King" (*roi pêcheur*). Here the *topos* of the *laudatio temporis acti* or "praise of days gone by" that the queen begins when the king departs is developed from a theological standpoint. The narrator's subtle structuring of space (boundary, center, periphery, and so on) calls for reading the space of the romance as an interior place that could be Arthur's very

soul with all of its ambiguities.

To return to the short romance of Arthur at the end of the prologue to the *Haut Livre du Graal*, and more specifically to the episode of the Chapel of St Augustine, where Arthur witnesses a eucharistic ceremony from the outside, the boundaries are permeable here, too. Before Arthur's eyes, there first appears an infant, offered by its mother and placed on the altar by the celebrant. At the moment of the elevation, the space above the chalice, between the hands of the priest and undoubtedly within the circle of the Host, is transformed. It opens up to make way for the vision: this time it is the blood-streaked face of the Man of Sorrows, complete with bleeding stigmata and crown of thorns, that appears in place of the Host when the king raises his eyes again.[23] A floating space is drawn by the verb *sembler* [to seem], which characterizes visions: "e *li sanbla* que li sainz hermites tenist entre ses mains .i. home, sanglant o costé, e sanglant es paumes e es piez, e coroné d'espines" ["it seemed to him that the hermit was holding in his arms a man, bleeding from his side, bleeding from his hands and feet and crowned with thorns"]. It momentarily gives way to the verb *veoir* [to see] to designate a presence as real as the celebrant's: "e *le voit* en propre figure" ["he could see him quite clearly"]. The scene is not really original; it occurs almost identically in the *Queste* and the *Estoire del Saint Graal*. Romance takes its cues from narratives of eucharistic miracles to represent the Real Presence and transubstantiation without significant innovation.[24] At a time when theologians at the Fourth Lateran Council were focusing their attention on ocular communion whose most significant manifestation is the ritual of elevation, it is not surprising that this model was integrated into the (profane) imagery of Arthurian romance as a way of making the divine visible within the space of iconic representation through an interplay of sensible reality and spiritual reality.[25] The originality of *Perlesvaus* lies not in these interferences between two realities; nor does it lie in the interferences between two spaces (human, sensible/divine, spiritual), as least not in the narrow context of the liturgy celebrated at the Chapel of St Augustine, because the eucharistic space here is clearly circumscribed.[26] The boundaries are strongly demarcated, whether they are visible or invisible (the preposition "entre" [between] the verb "sembler" [to seem], the invisible door, the walls of the chapel) and, while Arthur continuously and personally experiences it subjectively as an enclosed space, that space is nevertheless clearly circumscribed.

After the ceremony, when the king is about to embark on his homeward journey, the partitioning of the romance's space is altered. Herein possibly is where the originality of the *Perlesvaus* lies, for the world in which the king moves no longer seems quite the same. At

exactly the center of the clearing, less than an arrow's shot from the chapel, Arthur takes part in a strange and barbaric scene: he fights and kills a black knight armed with a flaming lance, and then finds him hacked apart by other knights swarming forth from the depths of the forest. Each makes off with a morsel before returning to share the remains of a second victim (one of their own who, unluckily for him, had stopped to give King Arthur the head he had been carrying off). This adventure is the first, and not the most barbaric, of a long series that call to mind motifs more akin to Gregorian eucharistic miracles (cut up child, bleeding finger, dismembered man, and so forth) than to traditional Arthurian motifs.[27] The plentiful severed heads and scattered body parts that relentlessly haunt the space of the narrative action go without mentioning; in this space everything points towards hewn flesh, severed limbs, and dispersed bodies.

One wonders whether the contents of the eucharistic space that opened up above the Grail have not spilled into these nightmarish places, this time in their most horrible forms (and disproportionate scale, where the finger of the eucharistic miracles is now an arm, a leg, or a head). These are what usually appear to the unbeliever or miscreant, a gory kind of materiality that sanctions the carnal man, designating the visual through exacerbation of the visible.[28] The originality of *Perlesvaus* is that it erases the boundary between the eucharistic space of the chapel and the space inhabited by Arthur, in the same way as it erases the boundary between dream and reality in the Cahus episode. Above all, its originality is that it projects the unfortunate king into a space where the distance between the flesh and the soul fades away, where everything is paroxistically carnal because it is paroxystically spiritual by the light of a *lede et hideuse* [ugly and hideous] flame in counterpoint to the *clere* [bright] flame of the spirit that shines above the altar.[29] Another spatial structure emerges here, around this new center in the circle of the clearing. This space, placed under the ascendancy of the flesh, still encompasses the chapel and its eucharistic core, but relegates them to an ill-defined periphery in order to place the barbarous dismemberment of the black knights at center stage.

To widen the investigation by backtracking a short way into the narrative, it becomes clear that the space that has just been defined by its content had already been delimited and defined earlier on in the romance. The double signposting effected by the presence of the maiden and mule along with the gate that functions as an indicator of spatial salience makes this clearing a space of the *merveilleux* ["fantastical," in its dysphoric dimension] and of paradox because it contains both the greatest danger and the greatest counsel. The Chapel of St Augustine, as the focus of the king's quest, seems to mark its

center. It is the focal point where everything converges since the danger is located *environ* [around] the chapel. Yet the narrator indicates no explicit center other than the one where the black knight is dismembered. On the one hand, the holy of holies in the chapel would be the center one might expect, but, on the other hand, the place of the barbaric dismemberments is explicitly named as the center. This unsettles the circular geometry of the clearing. The confusion about the locus of the center makes the clearing more than a bifocal space. Rather it is an elastic space, structured by grace, where signs are twofold in nature (eucharist/dismemberment). Here distances vanish to reveal one in the same spiritual presence, through imperfect viewing of the eucharistic sacrament or in the unhampered view of dark cruelty.[30] In such a setting, the scattered bodies of the dismembered knights appear in a continuum with the sacrificial child and the Man of Sorrows. The share of grace is revealed only in gaze that looks upon these things. The "warped" gaze (Lat. *curva*, following Bernard of Clairvaux) of beings-in-the-flesh like Arthur can see only the carnal materiality, whereas the gaze touched by grace can see the life and spirit beneath the abjection of the flesh because it can read with the heart.

The definition of these two spaces (eucharistic/horrific) that cohabitate within the king's memory brings us back to the recurrence in the romance of bits of flesh that are hacked apart or devoured. The cast of characters is divided up between those of the flesh, in other words, those who disperse flesh (Gauvain at Gurgaran's castle, the demoiselle who mutilates her servants and plans to cut off the heads of the best knights, the pups tearing apart the *Beste Glatissant*, and so on), and those of the spirit, who assemble flesh (like the penitent maiden gathering and piling up severed limbs). The distribution of spaces (euphoric/dysphoric) thus extends all the way through the *Haut Livre* to insert between the characters a spiritual hierarchy based on a dynamic of will and grace.[31] This hierarchy attenuates the exoticism of the most barbaric scenes by linking them to the *imaginaire* [imagination] of eucharistic miracles (right or wrong creance [belief], good or bad *loi* [law], state of grace or sin). It is here in this unmarked passage from eucharistic space to real space that the originality of the *Perlesvaus* lies. In this space, where scattered strips of flesh are the only remaining memory of the Incarnation, the romance offers the image of a nostalgic world that aspires only to *see* God; a world haunted by sin whose horror is everywhere. Yet it is nevertheless a spiritual world, caught between the sensible and the intelligible. Within these poles, it can only strive for the intelligible because the intelligible defies representation.[32] Caught between *sensus* [sense] and *mens* [mind], the dynamic space of *spiritus* [memory, will, and reason]

goes beyond the opposition of the *merveilleux* and the fantastical, beyond the visible and the invisible, because it is structured by grace. The spiritual space of the romance is thus defined as an *esse ad*, a space that plays out Christ's tending toward God in the human form (*forma servi*) of his crucified body. From the Ascension to Pentecost, the first branch of the *Perlesvaus* thus shows how space, depending on whether it is borne by grace, can revert like the Eucharist to its hideous materiality or guide the reader toward God.[33]

In the final analysis, this conception of space encourages re-examination of the question of allegory in a context that re-situates the debate on the Eucharist and the new definitions of it that sprang from disputes over the sacrament up to the Fourth Lateran Council.[34] Indeed allegorization is a thorny question in the *Perlesvaus* where excursuses on *senefiance* [revelation of the hidden meaning] leave the reader unsatisfied. In an age where reflection about the Eucharist increasingly centered on the Presence, *signum* [sign] and *res* [thing] tended to merge "without giving rise to the need for a proliferation of meaning as value added to the *res sacramenti* [sacrament] but rather resulted in a gain in substance proportional to the loss of signification."[35] The *realism* of the *Perlesvaus* may well be the literary translation of the real and massive Presence that surpasses the usual *semblance/senefiance* pair in the intensity and violence of its visual representation of the eucharistic body. Nevertheless, one wonders whether the paroxysm of barbarity that permeates the *Perlesvaus* says less about the Real Presence than about the painful distance forever separating the Christian from the presence of Christ since the Ascension. The *Perlesvaus* seems akin to the literature and poetry by thirteenth-century authors (Bernard, Peter the Venerable, Abelard, and so on) which is "decadent, because even Christ whose solitude is sung is evidently so near; threatening, because absence and distance cut all the more deeply as the presence is the more apparent."[36] As a place of presence and absence, the space of the *Perlesvaus* is eminently tragic insofar as it is inseparable from post-Ascension temporality. Signs function poorly; presence tells of absence, nearness tells of distance. Therefore the prologue (branch I) to the *Perlesvaus* should not be read merely as yet another of Arthur's adventures more or less mapped onto Augustinian theology. Instead it is a subtle application of the Augustinian paradigm of conversion that allows us to rethink romance and its allegorization in new terms that were anchored in contemporary eucharistic debate.

1 Jacques Berlioz, “Héros païen et prédication chrétienne: Jules César dans le recueil d’*exempla* du dominicain Etienne de Bourbon (mort vers 1261),” in Willelm Jonan Aerts and Martin Gosman (eds), *Exemplum et similitudo; Alexander the Great and other Heroes as Points of Reference in Medieval Literature* (Gröningen, 1988), pp. 126 and 136, n. 7.

2 These images are from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on Conversion: On Conversion, A Sermon to Clerics and Lenten Sermons on the Psalm “He Who Dwells*,” trans. and intro. Marie-Bernard Saïd (Kalamazoo, 1981), ch. VI, §11, pp. 44–5. Latin with French translation: Saint Bernard, *Le Précepte et la dispense; la conversion*, Sources chrétiennes, 457, eds Jean Leclercq, Henri Rochais, and Charles Hugh Talbot; intro., trans., and notes Françoise Callerot, Jürgen Miethke, and Christiane Jaquinod (Paris, 2000), p. 352. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons*, ch. VI, §11, p. 45: “the will is sick,” Saint Bernard, *La conversion*, p. 352: “*voluntas languida*.”

3 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons*, ch. VI, §10 and §11, pp. 43 and 45.

4 On conceptions of memory and their development over time, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998).

5 Augustine, *Confessions*, intro., trans., notes Maria Boulding; ed. John E. Rotelle (Hyde Park, NY, 1997), Book X, ch. 25, 36, p. 261. According to Augustine, God’s image is at once within memory and above memory. See Marcel Viller, Ferdinand Cavallera, and Joseph de Guibert, “Mémoire,” in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* (Firmin Didot, 1932–95).

6 Augustine, *Enarraciones in Psalmos* (Paris, 1964), Ps. 130, 12 (http://www.augustinus.it/latino/esposizioni_salmi/index2.htm), and Augustine, *Confessions*, X, 8,12–X, 26, 37, pp. 244–62.

7 In *La Trinité, livres VIII–XV*, ed. and trans. Paul Agaësse and Joseph Moingt (new edn, Paris, 1991 [1955]), Book XIV, pp. 345–420. Here the *abstrusior memoriae profunditas* corresponds to *mens*, the summit of the soul.

8 Augustine, *Confessions*, X, 26, 37, p. 261. Italics are mine.

9 Augustine, *La Trinité*, book XIV, ch. 15, p. 398, n. 23.

10 *Sensus, imaginatio, ratio, intellectus*; Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, 1.5, prosa 4, in PL, 63 (Paris, 1997 [1847]), col. 849.

11 The desire to contemplate the face of God within and beyond the sacrament is one of the characteristics of the period. On this question, see the already dated contributions by Jean Wirth, “L’apparition du surnaturel dans l’art du Moyen Âge,” in Francoise Dunand, Jean-Michel Spieser, and Jean Wirth (eds), *L’Image et la production du sacré. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 20–21 janvier 1988* (Paris, 1991), pp. 139–40; Jean Wirth, *L’Image médiévale. Naissance et développement (VI^e^–XV^e^ siècles*) (Paris, 1989); Jean Wirth, *L’Image à l’époque romane* (Paris, 1999); Jean Wirth, “Les Scolastiques et l’image,” in Gisèle Matthieu-Castellani (ed.), *La Pensée de l’image. Signification et figuration dans le texte et dans la peinture* (Vincennes, 1994), pp. 19–30, and more recent ones by Marinus B. Pranger, “Le sacrement de l’eucharistie et la prolifération de l’imaginaire aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles,” in André Harpin (ed.), *Fête-Dieu (1246–1296). Actes du colloque de Liège 12–14 septembre 1996* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1999), pp. 97–116, and Josef Lamberts, “Liturgie et spiritualité de l’eucharistie au XII^e^ s.,” in *Fête-Dieu (1246–1296*), pp. 81–95.

12 Armand Strubel (ed.), *Le Haut Livre du Graal* (Paris, 2007); henceforth HLG or *Perlesvaus*. The first branch of the romance is presented as a sort of prologue to the actual beginning of the Grail adventure at court during Pentecost, which opens branch II. For a reading of this episode within Indo-European patterns of royalty, see Antoinette Saly, “Le roi Arthur dans *Perlesvaus*: le mauvais roi et la chauve au bras bandé,” *PRIS-MA: bulletin de liaison de l’équipe de recherche sur la littérature*

d'imagination du Moyen Âge (CESCM, Poitiers), 11/2 (1995): 199–209.

13 "Li hauz livres du Graal commence o non du Père e du Fill e du Saint Esperit … car il iert molt porfitables a toz cex qui de cuer l'orront," HLG, incipit, p. 127, l. 10 and l. 15, translated as "The high book of the Grail begins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit … for those who hear it with their hearts will find it most profitable," *The High Book of the Grail. A translation of the thirteenth-century romance Perlesvaus*, trans. Nigel Bryant (new ed., Cambridge, 2007 [1978]), p. 1.

14 Jean-René Valette, *La Pensée du Graal* (Paris, 2008), reads this episode from a Bernardine perspective to show that the literary depiction corresponds exactly to the articulation that theology calls *libertas gratiae*, p. 153. Cahus is a squire who, in his dream, is stabbed by a giant for making away from the chapel with a golden candlestick as a gift for the king. When he wakes, the candlestick is still in his possession and his wound is so real that he dies from it before the very eyes of the astonished Arthur. The candlestick is then placed in a niche, like a relic, in St Paul's Cathedral, London. Between the dream chapel and the niche in the cathedral extends the continuity between two sacred spaces, one of which is within the squire's soul (he arrives there only in a dream), while the other is in this world (with the spatial salience of the niche). Because the first is explicitly assimilated with the Chapel of St Augustine (Cahus went after Arthur in his dream because he had been left behind) whereas the squire never left Arthur's palace, one may well wonder about the nature of Cahus's journey and of Arthur's as well (who likewise returns after being wounded by a black knight). Questions arise especially about the nature of the space he crosses, since the boundary between the interior and the exterior, *intus* and *foris*, dream and reality, is blurred. On these parallels, see Andrea M.L. Williams, "Dreams and Visions in the *Perlesvaus*," in Bonnie Wheeler (ed.), *Arthurian studies in honour of P.J.C. Field* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 75–8.

15 See the definition that Dominique Boutet gives concerning royal largesse and its uses in this work, "Sur l'origine et le sens de la largesse arthurienne," *Le Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1983), pp. 397–411, particularly pp. 400–401, and in "Carrefours idéologiques de la royauté arthurienne," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 27 (1985): 3–17.

16 "Ce est granz doleurs au siecle quant il ne porsuit son buen commencement, car on ne set roi ne prince si bien enseigné de totes cortoisies ne de totes largesces, s'il les *voloit* fere autresi com il soloit," HLG, p. 142, l. 20–24, translated as "It's a great sorrow for the world that he doesn't carry on the great work that he began, for there's no king or prince so well endowed with all courtly manners and such prowess as he, if he would only do as he used to do," *High Book of the Grail*, trans. Bryant, p. 6. This interpretation coincides with that of Valette, *La Pensée du Graal*, p. 153. He sees in the king's passivity (not doing what would make him a good king) and in Perceval's (who mentally formulates his question but refrains from asking it), a *velle* [to want to] that cannot come together with a *posse* [to be able to] because grace is lacking. On the question of Augustinian grand style and its use in the HLG, see Catherine Nicolas, "Retour sur la définition du style d'apocalypse: le sublime augustinien dans les Hauts Livres du Graal," *Centaurus. Studia classica et mediaevalia*, 7 (2010): 74–85.

17 The window motif has given rise to a number of studies. In addition to its regular use by Bernard of Clairvaux as a metaphor (window of the senses), it can appear as a boundary circumscribing a space open to the view and, sometimes, to interpretation. About the window as "revelatory of characters' visual desire," see the thesis by Marie-Pascale Halary, *Beauté et littérature au tournant des XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles* (Paris, 2013), p. 138: "le paysage contemplé [par la fenêtre] est proprement exhibé et comme établi dans un autre espace. Focalisé, le regard se concentre sur le

spectacle et il peut en apprécier la valeur" ["the landscape contemplated (through the window) is actually exhibited as if set in another space. Focusing on it, the gaze is concentrated on the spectacle and can appreciate its value"]. The fact that Arthur joins Guinevere at the window functions here as the first moment of conversation.

18 "… fenêtres de la mélancolie et de la mémoire, celles auprès desquelles les personnages n'attendent plus rien et que même la matérialisation de ce dont leur mémoire a formé l'image ne suffit pas à extraire de leurs pensées," cited in Alain Corbellari, "Des fenêtres ouvertes sur la mémoire: du *Tristan* de Béroul à *Ysaïe le Triste*," *Par la fenestre, Senefiance*, 49 (2003): 105–13.

19 Ibid., p. 106: "instants de suspension … moments privilégiés de la textualité médiévale [qui] nous confrontent à un être-là du personnage qui le maintient dans une indétermination narrative favorable à l'exploration de sa psyché."

20 Michel Zink has previously noted the link between the Chapel of St Augustine and Augustine of Hippo; see "Le Rêve avéré. La mort de Cahus et la langueur d'Arthur, de *Perlesvaus* à Fouque Fitz Waryn," in *Mélanges René Fromilhague, Littératures*, 9–10 (1984): 31–8. There is also a discrete reference to the *De doctrina christiana* where Augustine strives to elaborate a grand style to rouse those who know what they must do to be good Christians but fail to do it precisely because they lack the will. On this question see my article cited above.

21 At the moment of the elevation of the Host, Arthur sees an infant above it or in its stead, and then the Man of Sorrows. This representation is also often found in eucharistic miracles and in the motif of the Mass of Saint Gregory. On this question see Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux (eds), *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident. Antiquité et Moyen Âge. Actes du séminaire tenu à Paris, Institut catholique, 1997–2004* (Paris, 2009), especially the contribution by Marie-Odile Boulnois, "L'eucharistie, figure ou réalité? Une controverse théologique, d'Origène à la querelle iconoclaste," in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie*, pp. 273–90.

22 See also the contribution by Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, "L'essart comme figure de la subversion de l'ordre spatial dans les romans arthuriens [en vers]," in Elizabeth Mornet (ed.), *Campagnes médiévales: l'homme et son espace*, études offertes à Robert Fossier (Paris, 1995), pp. 59–71, especially p. 66; and "Structure et signification d'un récit arthurien: la *Mule sans frein* (XII^{e}–XIII^{e} s.)," in Jean-Baptiste Martin (ed.), *Le Conte. Tradition orale et identité culturelle, Actes des rencontres de Lyon, novembre 1986* (Saint Fons, 1988), pp. 167–78, especially pp. 172–3.

23 This time the space is bounded/circumscribed/delimited by a door that plays the same part as the window, *High Book of the Grail*, trans. Bryant, p. 9.

24 William Roach, "Eucharistic tradition in the Perlesvaus," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 61 (1939): 10–56; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 120–22, and Mireille Séguy, *Le Graal ou le signe imaginé* (Paris, 2001) discuss a eucharistic miracle associated with Gregory the Great from which the eucharistic liturgy in the Chapel of St Augustine episode may derive. Séguy, p. 162, explains that according to the story told for the first time in a life of Gregory written by an anonymous monk or nun at Whitby around 713, Gregory had to deal with a baker who doubted the reality of transubstantiation. While he was giving communion, she smiled skeptically, having recognized the bread that she herself had baked. Gregory then placed a piece of the Host on the altar, praying for God to manifest his presence, and the Host transformed into a bleeding finger. This strange miracle is told again over a century and a half later by John the Deacon in his *Sancti Gregorii magni vita*. He does not mention the bleeding finger, but reports the transformation of the bread into flesh and then back into bread. Like Séguy, I do not believe this miracle had a direct influence on the *Perlesvaus* author, but rather that was stock imagery that the

romancier drew upon. See also the narratives of eucharistic miracles in *exempla* collections like the one by Caesarius of Heisterbach, or in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great. The usual story is that of a miscreant (often a Jew, or a Christian who requires visible proof) confounded by the vision granted to him or her of the Host in the form of a bleeding finger or dismembered child.

25 Séguy, *Le Graal ou le signe imaginé*, p. 163. On the transcendance of space vs time in Grail scenes, see also Jean-René Valette, "Personnage, signe et transcendance dans les scènes du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes à la *Queste del Saint Graal*," in Marie-Etiennette Bély and Jean-René Valette, et al., *Personne, personnage et transcendance* (Lyon, 1999), pp. 191–3.

26 First located above the chalice, between the hands of the priest, it undoubtedly inhabits the circle of the Host, before extending throughout the chapel which Arthur, impeded by an invisible door, could not enter. The definition of eucharistic space is constructed on the basis of two elements: the enclosure, which marks its bounds, making it a separate space within another space (circle of the Host, the space between the celebrant's hands, the interior of the chapel closed off by the invisible door), and the contents, which confer its eucharistic nature (child, Man of Sorrows, representations of grace).

27 To mention only the most gruesome: the cannibalistic feasting on the body of Gurgaran's son, the *Beste Glatissant* ["Questing Beast"] devoured by its offspring, the mutilated servants at the château des Barbes, and so forth. For an interpretation of barbarism and kingship, see Heather Blurton, *Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature* (New York, 2007), pp. 60–64.

28 The two visions would be opposite each other: the euphoric one of the gentle offering of the child and the piteous body of the Man of Sorrows (associated with God's love, grace, and the kiss for Saint Bernard and in the *Estoire del Saint Graal*), and the dysphoric one of hacked flesh, associated with the unbeliever or the miscreant in eucharistic miracles. For a definition of "the visual," see Georges Didi-Hubermann, *Fra Angelico. Dissemblance et figuration* (Paris, 1995), p. 11; and "La couleur de la Chair ou le paradoxe de Tertullien," *Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse*, 35 (1997): 9–39.

29 Mireille Séguy, "Voir au-delà. L'esthétique du visuel dans le *Perlesvaus*, la *Queste* et l'*Estoire del Saint Graal*," *Littérature et révélation au Moyen Âge, Littérales*, 40 (2007): 235–51, surprisingly does not address this *Perlesvaus* scene in her study of the aesthetics of the visual in Grail prose romances. Nevertheless it seems that the king's entry into the eucharistic space bears similarities to the scene in the *Estoire del saint Graal* where the space of the of the arch widens to the point of encompassing Josephus; likewise with Lancelot, who remained outside the chapel of Corbénic and then rushed toward the altar to help the celebrant carry the eucharistic body. Like Josephus and Lancelot, Arthur is punished for his transgression; he returns wounded in the arm by the black knight. It appears that he, too, has come under the empire of the visual.

30 It is possible that these horrible images crystallized the fears that the Eucharist could give rise to at the time. See Josef Lamberts, "Liturgie et spiritualité de l'eucharistie au XII^{e} s.," about the practice of the Eucharist and the fears that the eucharistic *mysterium tremendum* could cause. For a different perspective on "eucharistic anxiety," see Blurton, *Cannibalism*, pp. 73–80.

31 The *Queste del Saint Graal* depicts a spiritual hierarchy along fairly similar lines (to see clearly, to see through a veil, to not see, to be unable to enter, to see in the flesh the priest literally collapsing under the weight of the Man of Sorrows). See Albert Pauphilet, *Etude sur la Queste del Saint Graal, attribuée à Gautier Map* (Paris, 1980).

32 God is no longer visible there, nor should he be sought in an essence that can be grasped beyond appearances. Furthermore, the romance does not begin on Pentecost, like the *Queste del Saint Graal*, but on Ascension Day, the anniversary of the end of God's visibility.

33 The question of sacramental manducation is applicable here. This was a topic that occupied the thoughts of theologians at the time (particularly Guillaume de Saint-Thierry) as to whether it could be spiritual or not (in the event the *res* of the Eucharist is not effected). See Lamberts, "Liturgie et spiritualité de l'eucharistie au XII^{e} siècle."

34 See the articles by Michael T. Girolimon, "Hugh of St. Victor's *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*: the sacraments of salvation," *Journal of Religious History*, 18/2 (1994): 127–38, and Pierre-Marie Gy, "L'office du *corpus Christi* et la théologie des accidents eucharistiques," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 66 (1982): 81–6 and his "Le canon 21 de Latran IV et la pratique de la confession et de la communion au XIII^{e} siècle," *Bulletin de la société des Antiquaires de France* (1995): 338–44, as well as Pranger cited above.

35 Marinus B. Pranger, "Le sacrement de l'eucharistie et la prolifération de l'imaginaire aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles," p. 102: "sans que se produise le besoin de prolifération de signification, comme valeur ajoutée à la *res sacramenti*." Pranger insists on the union of the signifier and the signified in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

36 Ibid., p. 110: "décadent, car le même Christ dont on chante la solitude est par ailleurs évidemment si proche; menaçant, car l'absence et la distance tranchent d'autant plus que la présence est plus évidente." Pranger's study focuses on the first half of the twelfth century and investigates the particular meaning the Eucharist held within monastic ways of thinking that correspond to those of the authors I cite and differ from the devotion that developed later on.

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